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RECOLLECTIONS OF NORTH AMERICA,-

IN 1849-50-51.-

BY W. E. SURTEES, D.C.L.



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# RECOLLECTIONS OF NORTH AMERICA, IN 1849-50-51.

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## PART I.

If you would know the form of the rock at Dover, you need only look at that at Calais; and if you would acquaint yourself with the composition of the soil at Calais, you may learn it by analysing that at Dover. They were once united, but afterwards torn apart by a convulsion:—

—Cliffs which had been rent asunder;  
A dreary sea now flows between;  
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder  
Shall wholly do away, I ween,  
The trace of that which once hath been.

The accidents of culture may make some little, and temporary, difference in the appearance between the farms on each side; but the same plants are indigenous to, and will flourish best in, both.

It is thus morally with the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of the United States of North America. Both people have the same Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman foundation, carrying with it the same skill in navigation, and the same enterprise in war and commerce; both retain the same love of liberty, obey the same common law, and respect the interpretation of the same judges. The faults, too, and vices of both (amiable weaknesses shall we agree to call them?) are pretty nearly the same. Both people have unbounded self elation—the citizens of the United States from overvaluing themselves; the English, from underestimating the rest of the world. And it must be acknowledged that in regard to the mental process by which that pleasing result is attained, our transatlantic cousins have the merit of being, if not less ridiculous than ourselves, at least less offensive. But such are our reciprocal misapprehensions, and so desirable is it to remove them, that, in any trial of skill between us, the worst thing for ourselves would be that we should beat, and the worst thing for our rivals that we should be beaten. Again, to the paw of the lion and to the claw of the eagle belongs the same tender disinterested instinct to cherish and protect, to endow with what we justly call the advantages of our free institutions, as large a portion of the world as possible. This is evinced on the part of the United States by a continual expansion which knows no parallel, except in our own colonial augmentation, or in the deadly, noiseless, Upas-like growth of despotic Russia; and it is illustrated by their nation arrogating to themselves, and having conceded to them, the name of Americans; whereas the other inhabitants of America are called Canadians, Mexicans, Peruvians, &c., from the name of the limited country, not that of the vast quarter of the globe on which they live. Now, in the United States, in the ordinary



transactions of business, Mexican and Spanish money is current ; but the money of the United States only is taken at their post-office; and, should you there offer a Mexican dollar in payment, you would be asked, as a matter of course, whether you had “no American money with you.”

Respecting a great people, having so much of our own blood and character, to whom our grandchildren emigrating may belong, as their emigrating grandsires belonged to us, we must naturally entertain no ordinary curiosity. Much has been written on this subject. Something, however, probably remains to be told ; both because some tourists have composed their travels as if they supposed that, by always turning up their noses, they should pass for having an aristocratic organisation ; and because that which was written on the United States ten years ago is as obsolete now as it would have been had it been written on an old country of Europe a hundred years since. Under this impression, a few random recollections of a tour in North America, principally in the United States, but not confined to them, are thrown together with a haste which demands apology.

In the July of 1849 I arrived in New York from Liverpool, and in the September of 1851 I returned to Liverpool from New York. The time devoted to my tour was comprised between these periods.

I went out to America in the English mail-steamer *Europa*,\* belonging to the Cunard company, and returned by the American mail-steamer *Atlantic*, belonging to the company named after Mr. Collins. I am bound to mention that in the *Europa*, in consequence of a small cistern which supplied the passengers' cabin not having been cleaned out when a large cistern supplying other portions of the vessel was cleaned out, the water served in the passengers' cabin, though filtered through a sponge, to make it look clear, was intolerably disgusting to the taste. The effect was distressingly obvious from the first: the cause, and the fact that all the time the cabins of the officers and crew of the ship had been supplied with good water, I only learnt towards the end of the voyage. But, of the *Atlantic* steam-ship, and all connected with its management, I could speak only with unqualified praise.

With the appearance of New York and its bay the British public is already familiar, from descriptions and from pictures ; and I will merely mention that I have never seen anything of its kind so beautiful as the prospect of the two seen together ; and that the best view which I have had of them is from a hill in Statten Island, commonly called, from the residence of a New Orleans lady, Madame Grimes's Hill. This view, I am assured, reminds Eastern travellers of a view of Constantinople from the Golden Horn.

As Washington is the political, so New York undoubtedly may claim to be the commercial, capital of the United States. What Lombard-street is to London, Wall-street is to New York ; and, according to the wills or exigencies of its bankers, money is scarce or abundant, credit is easy or inaccessible, and trade is slow or brisk, throughout the Union.

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\* An arrangement may here be pointed out, showing at once to which of the two great Atlantic steam-navigation companies any vessel may belong. The names of all the vessels of the Cunard company end with an *a*, as *Arabia*, *America*, *Europa* ; while those of the Collins company end with a *c*, as *Pacific*, *Baltic*, *Atlantic*.

Though the commercial superiority of New York is acknowledged, it is far from having a social or literary supremacy conceded to it by all, either of the more northern or southern cities. And the Englishman, who should form his judgment of the American character merely from the fashionable parties of New York, and from the large hotels of the northern watering-places, such as Saratoga and Newport, would do injustice to its more sterling, and to its more engaging traits.

In their speculative character, in their vast commission business, in their love of ostentation, in their amusing habit of praising their city and themselves, the New Yorkers (as the inhabitants of New York are called) must remind one, who has ever mixed in Liverpool society, of something that he has seen before. In New York, as in Liverpool, the young ladies walk out in the streets (or, according to the common phrase with the Americans, which I wish they could be induced to alter, "on the street") with the very thinnest shoes and the very gayest dresses, such as in London or Paris it would be unusual, not to say improper, to wear in a morning, except in a carriage, a horticultural fête, or a concert. In New York, too, you occasionally see a *brusquerie*, or pertness of manner, which is not very bewitching, but of which I think I many years ago observed traces amongst some of the "Lancashire witches" of Liverpool. And as the people of Liverpool have not always their pretensions allowed by the neighbouring Cheshire squirearchy, so those of New York do not invariably pass current at their own value with the well-bred gentry of Virginia and South Carolina, or the literary coteries of Boston. Yet New York and Liverpool contain charming individuals and families; and some I should name (would it not be an unpardonable liberty) that would grace and honour any society, either of America or Europe. But it must be admitted that in most of the sets of New York, and especially in that which is considered the most fashionable,\* the gold and the silver, and the brass and the iron, and the clay, are sometimes, as in Nebuchadnezzar's image, rather incongruously intermingled. The New Yorkers require excitement; they delight in a lion, whether it is an author or a singer, a hero or a heroine, a prince or a princess. They are often taken in; but in these cases,

Doubtless the pleasure is as great  
In being cheated as to cheat,

for both parties have their amusement out of the deception.

Yet it must make any honest and observant person, acquainted with both nations, indignant to hear, as I have heard, a disposition to run after lords reproached by the English against the Americans. I do not believe that in any portion of the Union does that (as *Punch* so happily calls it) "flunkeyism" prevail, which is so common amongst that particular section of English and Scotch society that styles itself the upper, but is styled by others the middle class; and as for the Irish, the one only matter in the British constitution which many of them seem to comprehend is, that an hereditary legislator is an object of respect. In the United States, no doubt, a lord is regarded with some interest and curiosity, from historical associations. A lord founded the state of Maryland; several able governors of particular states, in the colonial times, adorned the peerage;

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\* From the loud talking, exaggerated manners, and self-sufficient airs of some of the members of this company, it has been styled by the French *les comédiens*.



a lord was one of the ablest advocates of the rights of the colonists at the commencement of the revolutionary war, and his speeches are at this day studied as those of a classic, by every educated American, from the schoolboy up to the President. But in the United States, as contradistinguished from England, his excellency and my lord take their chance with the author and the singer, and the last interesting importation of the day ; and—which no doubt seems to the ambassador and his lordship very *bizarre*—are probably beaten out of the field. I know a case in which the family of an English peer, who, in the country, are on visiting terms with the family of a neighbour, a very rich manufacturer, do not condescend even to bow to them in London ; and this state of things the manufacturer has endured. At the time that the late Sir Robert Peel was summoned from Italy by William IV. to form an administration, I myself heard the younger son of a newly-made peer exclaim aloud, in the library of a London club, that things had come to a pretty pass, when the government of this country was kept at a stand-still a fortnight “for the son of a cotton-spinner.” And if there were any sons of cotton-spinners present—and they were as likely to be as not—it is not improbable that they thought this speech as fine and spirited as the speaker did himself. Verily there are some points on which the United States have much to learn before they can venture to compete with an old country like England !

In New York ostentation of wealth is more important to social position than it is in any other great city in the Union. Many private houses have large and richly-furnished suites of reception-rooms, in which, nevertheless, the establishment is exceedingly small, and the family, on ordinary occasions, dine in a little back parlour on the area-floor. Very costly dinners are given by persons who can afford them ; and I have heard of a ball in the winter, for the flowers to decorate which as much was paid as 1000 dollars—a little more than 200*l*. These *fêtes* are imitated by persons who affect the same station, but cannot afford the same expenses. A crisis comes, and the pretender to wealth goes down ; but he rises again in the west, somewhere on the Ohio, Mississippi, or great lakes ; and there the tourist will recognise him engrossed in his schemes, to acquire the means once more to cut a dash.

Respecting expenditure, I will observe that you never, in New York, hear any one say openly, “I cannot afford it ;” a phrase which, in England, is occasionally in the mouth of almost every one who has a character, and is accustomed to have money.

The great northern watering-places of the United States remind an Englishman of Harrogate ; but they are more fashionably attended than Harrogate has recently been. In these there are immense hotels, and the ordinary mode of living is, in one of them, to take a bedroom only, and, using the public drawing-room and dining-room, to have your meals at a vast *table d'hôte*. At Harrogate, by the prescriptive usage of the place, you are permitted—and, indeed, expected—to speak to your neighbour at dinner, without any introduction ; though it is commonly understood that a mere Harrogate acquaintance need not afterwards be kept up. But at these northern watering-places, should a gentleman, or should a lady, attempt to enter into conversation with a lady occupying the next chair, the person making the advance would stand a good

chance of getting a rebuff. This system, so different from that of the *tables d'hôte* of France and Germany, involves, unless you have your party with you, the restraints, without the amusements, of society. You must not, between the courses, take out of your pocket a book or a newspaper, as you can in an English coffee-room; and you had better not run the risk of speaking to the lady who may be sitting next you. Yet, perhaps, this reserve may be justifiable in its origin; since, for such peculiarities as I have seen in the habits of the United States, I have generally found, upon investigation, that there were satisfactory reasons. It may be, that it is more difficult there than in Europe to terminate an undesirable acquaintance, or check the forced growth of an acquaintance into an intimacy.

Of the innumerable sets of New York, probably each set has its representatives at these watering-places. The keeper of the retail store, the keeper of the wholesale store,\* the retired merchant, the newspaper editor, the descendant of governors and senators, and the son of the petty farmer, who, through his own honourable exertions, now creditably occupies their place, all having come, perhaps, from the same city, and having had some little intercourse in business, converse together under the balconies of the hotels. But their wives and daughters commonly reciprocate the most repulsive frigidity towards each other, unless they fancy their neighbours to be in quite as grand a set as themselves. This would not be a pleasant spectacle in a monarchy; and it is not a pleasant spectacle in a republic. Their own illustrious Washington, who always thought and acted like a gentleman, lays down in his "Rules of Behaviour," that "every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present."† And one cannot help fancying that personages, who are unavoidably constrained by their superior position to act on a different principle, would do well to incur the expense of taking private lodgings, or private rooms in an hotel, rather than dine at a dinner-table, sit on a sofa, and play on a pianoforte, common to those to whom, nevertheless, they are bound to display, in a marked manner, the graceful proportions of their backs.

To the great southern watering-place, the White Sulphur Springs of Virginia, I have not been. But I am assured, and believe, that this mountain-retreat is characterised by ease, want of pretension, and all the essentials of good-breeding. And I only trust that the railroads, which are each year rendering it more accessible from all portions of the country, will not obliterate its distinctive social charms.

Albany is the political capital of the state of New York; and to it, whoever visits the city of New York, is sure to ascend in one of the Hudson River steam-boats. The Hudson, or North River, as it is often called from the direction from which it flows, rivals in its scenery the wildest and most beautiful portions of the Rhine; and, if it has on its banks large hotels, handsome country-seats, and neat villas, almost all built of wood, and painted white, and looking in the clear air and

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\* Both what the English call shops and what they call warehouses, the Americans call stores. It would seem as if the Americans were anxious not to be called, as we were by Napoleon, a nation of shopkeepers; for, with them, you seldom hear any place, except a barber's room, spoken of as a shop.

† Sparks's "Life of Washington," p. 513.



bright sunshine, as if made of Parian marble, instead of the gloomy ruins of castles—and hence, to the mere artist, it may be the less attractive of the two—it has associations which, to an Englishman, should render it far the more interesting.

At Tarrytown, on its banks, is the spot where the ill-starred Major André was captured; and not far off is the village of Tappan, where he was executed, while

His mourners were two hosts—his friends and foes.

A little higher up the river than Tarrytown, modestly hiding itself amongst the trees, yet, as you change your position, playfully peeping out from them, as if it had caught something of the vein of sly humour which enlivens the charming fictions of its owner, is the residence of Mr. Washington Irving. Again, a little higher up, is West Point, the strongest military station on the river, which Arnold, its commander, would have betrayed to the British for gold. Here has been established a military academy, where, both discipline and instruction being considered, the best education in the United States is said to be given. Though the national government keeps but a small standing army, it here educates a great number of young gentlemen for officers; well knowing that, what with the numerous militia of the various states, and with the spirit of the people, soldiers could at any time be made, were there officers fit to command them. No man enters the United States' army as an officer, unless from West Point; and, consequently, no private can obtain a commission. And in the United States' army there is no promotion by purchase.

Leaving West Point, we soon pass Newburg, where is a house used by General Washington as head-quarters during a portion of the revolutionary war. Then you pass Kaatskill. And what schoolboy does not know that in the woods above Kaatskill, Rip Van Winkle supped with the fairies, and afterwards slept for twenty years? And as the traveller in Switzerland ascends the Rigi for the prospect, so should the traveller in the state of New York spend a day, or a week, or a month, at the Mountain House, a large hotel on the summit of the Kaatskill mountains.

But I will no longer linger over the charms of the Hudson. You eventually disembark at Albany, the capital of the state, where very agreeable society is to be found. The comptroller, a sort of state chancellor of the exchequer, who has his office in Albany, mentioned to me an excellent law, which the New York legislature had of late years enacted, requiring the various banks in the state to give a security to the state, and, through it, to the public. Any one in the state of New York may establish a bank, and may issue notes; but the notes must be supplied through the office of the comptroller, who must supply them to that amount, and only to that amount, that the security in United States' stock or New York state stock deposited with him by the banker will cover. Thus, in the event of a bank failing, the public would be protected from any loss through its notes; as the state would sell the stock and redeem the notes with the proceeds.

From Albany you may catch a glimpse of Troy, on the opposite side of the river, a little higher up.



Procedo, et parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis  
Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum,  
Agnosco.

But the good taste of the community is now generally preferring Indian to classical names.

At Albany I took the railroad train, or, as it is commonly called in America, "the ears," and proceeded to Auburn. A ear consists of a carriage in the shape of a long saloon, with a passage down the centre, and, on each side, running at right angles from the passage, a number of benches stuffed and backed, each of which will hold two persons. In the winter there is a stove near the middle of this saloon. The trains in the southern and middle states are not divided into first, second, and third-class carriages, as with us; for on the introduction of railroads it was, in these found, on trial, that no native American would condescend to travel by any class except the first. There is, however, a separate ear in front for negroes and all others tainted with African blood; which is only reasonable, as the offence of "coloured people" against the senses is often not confined to the eyes. Occasionally a cheaper train, called "an emigrant train," is run. In the New England states they generally have a second-class car, but no separate ear for negroes. The fuel generally burnt by the engines is wood, which is stacked at intervals by the side of the railroads. On coming to the station from which you start, you find at most of the railroads a porter, whose duty it is, after having ascertained where you are bound, to append by a leathern strap to each article of your luggage, or "baggage," as it is commonly called in America, a tin ticket, on which is stamped a letter for the place of your destination, and some particular number in figures; he then gives you a duplicate of each of these tickets; and, on your arrival at your journey's end, you may hand these duplicates to the porter of your hotel, or to any servant who may meet you; and to the producer of these, but to no one else, will your luggage be given up. Would not the introduction of this system be a great improvement upon ours, in which persons of all sexes, and ages, and positions, have, on the stopping of a train at a great station, to crowd up together against a railing to recognise and elaim their boxes?

Auburn is one of those huge villages in the western part of the state of New York, which, were they in England, would be dignified with the name of towns. It has a large "state prison;" from the discipline pursued in which, the silent, is often called the Auburn, in opposition to the Pennsylvanian, or separate system. Those who wish to go over it must pay a small fee on entering; and I believe it was the first and last time that, in the United States, I found anything charged for permission to inspect any public property, whether belonging to a state or to the nation. Nor are previous applications nor written orders as generally necessary as with us. Over the United States' armory at Springfield, and over the United States' doekyard, or, as the Americans with greater precision call it, "Navy yard," at Boston, you may roam unquestioned at any reasonable hour; and the workmen at both places seem to think that it is incumbent upon them to show the duties of hospitality by answering, as completely as they can, any question which a stranger may put. Though in such matters we ourselves are improving, we have still much to learn from the Americans. Again, though probably you cannot hurry through

a crowded street in any of the principal cities of the United States without justling against a general and half a dozen colonels and majors of militia in plain clothes, and can hardly enter into a shop or an hotel without hearing the book-keeper addressed as captain (for the population of every state seems to take to militia-soldiering as a holiday amusement), you never see a soldier of the national army out of his proper place. The other day, at the British Museum, I was paying a hack-cabman, who had driven me there, having brought with me a few specimens which I had collected in America as presents for the institution, when a soldier, walking as sentry, told the cabman that he must move on. His cab was not occupying room that was wanted, as there was no carriage behind. It is not pleasant to be reminded, by the intrusion of a soldier with a bayonet into a business, which, if done at all, should be done by a policeman, that one has returned to one's native land; but this an American never need fear.

But to return to the New York state prison at Auburn. The only separation in the workshops seemed to be that caused by the difference of sex, and the difference of work; but silence was enjoined. All the prisoners were made to work: those, who had any trade of their own before they came there, as shoemakers, carpenters, &c., were made to work at that; and those who knew no trade were taught one. What the prisoners produce is sold to pay the costs of the establishment; and I was told by the guide that this now realises a sufficient sum to pay its current expenses. When a prisoner leaves, he is presented with a small sum of money (two dollars was, I think, the sum mentioned), and a suit of clothes, in order that he may not be driven to crime by destitution: but a larger sum, it had been found, was likely to induce habits of idleness.

But the penitentiary at Albany is generally considered the most perfect specimen of the working of this system. Here not an eye was raised, as the party that I accompanied passed through the rooms. The men, I think, were principally engaged in plaiting cane-bottomed chairs, and the women in covering glass bottles with wicker-work to "send west." Probably the prisoners here were generally confined but for a short time, and the arts in which they were employed were such as could be quickly acquired. In the silent system almost everything must depend upon the tact of the manager; and the penitentiary at Albany is fortunate in having secured the services of Mr. Pilsbury, who has inherited the skill, as well as the occupation, of his father.

Of the father I will copy an anecdote, from a biography of the son, published in Albany; merely premising that, whereas it is very unusual for an English gentleman to be shaved by a barber, it is the ordinary course adopted by all classes in the United States:

"A desperate fellow of the name of Scott, alias Teller, was sent for fifteen years to Wethersfield (a prison in Vermont, of which Captain Pilsbury was warden); he had previously been confined in Sing-Sing and other prisons. He was determined not to work or submit to any rules. Of course, Captain Pilsbury treated him accordingly. He very soon cut one of his hands nearly off, on purpose to avoid labour; but his wound was immediately attended to, and, in less than one hour afterwards,



he found himself turning a large crank with one hand. It was then that he declared he would murder the warden on the very first opportunity. Soon after this, the regular barber of the prison being sick, Scott, who had, it was said, when young, worked at that trade, was directed by the deputy-warden to take the place of the barber, and shave the prisoners throughout the establishment. Captain Pilsbury, on going into the shop soon afterwards, was told by one of the assistants that the prisoners did not like being shaved by this man; that he had behaved very badly ever since he had been an inmate; and that they were afraid of him. Captain Pilsbury immediately took the chair, and directed Scott to shave him.

“From that moment he became one of the best behaved convicts in the prison, and remained so until Captain Pilsbury left it, in November, 1832. Soon after the appointment of a new warden Scott tried to escape, and murdered one of his keepers. For this crime he was hanged, at Hartford, in 1833.”

Captain Pilsbury was the chief promoter of the silent system in New England; and seems to have been peculiarly endowed with the talent of producing the strictest discipline by persuasion. In a notice of him in a Philadelphia newspaper, it is stated that he seldom punished; but, when he did, he took special pains to show the criminal that he regarded him as an unfortunate human being, not as a brute.

At Philadelphia, the principal city, though not the political capital, of Pennsylvania, there is a vast prison called the “Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.” Here also the prisoners are made to work; but they work in their solitary cells. A recent report acknowledges that “the commonwealth is not an immediate pecuniary gainer by the maintenance of the present system of discipline;” but maintains, that it is “believed to be better for all the purposes of reformation.” It adds, that “the inspectors have denied that the system, as there administered, had any tendency to produce the disease” of insanity; but acknowledges that, “where hereditary predisposition to it has existed, they have admitted that its effect has been, in some instances, to develop it more speedily.”\*

In going over the cells of the penitentiary at Philadelphia, I was introduced to one of them, which had been occupied by a young gentleman, who had thrown away all the advantages of birth, education, and talents. Confined here as a criminal, he had endeavoured to relieve his solitude by the composition of some touching and beautiful verses, alluding to his own sad fall. From his clothes he had succeeded in extracting some dyes, and with these he had painted the verses in a sort of fresco style upon the wall of his cell, where they still remain, to claim the admiration and the regrets of the stranger.

It is time to return to Auburn, from speaking of the penitentiary of which I have been led into my digression. From Auburn the railroad takes you to the “village” of Geneva, situated on a beautiful little lake called Lake Seneca. It has a college, and several places of public worship, and is one of the sweetest spots for a residence that I ever saw. It is built on the side of a hill at the lower part of the lake; and, though its wooded hills have nothing of the rugged grandeur so conspicuous in

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\* Report of 1849.

the distant scenery of its Swiss namesake, it is not without some pretension to the ambitious comparison which it suggests.

From Geneva a short railroad journey brings you to Niagara.

Who, visiting the United States, would not see Niagara? but who dare attempt to penetrate the thick cloud, which its spray ever raises before it to the heavens, and depict in words that awful image of the power of God?

A few hundred yards below the Falls of Niagara, on the United States' side, there is a ferry, which in ten minutes will take you to Canada; and, a few miles above, or a few miles below the falls, you may get Lake Erie, or Lake Ontario steamers, and may start for the Upper or Lower Canadian provinces.

In the autumn of 1849 I made a short sojourn at Montreal and Quebec; and a few observations respecting Canada, as it seemed then, may not be objectionable.

After having descended a considerable portion of the St. Lawrence, the steamer in which I was a passenger landed me at a village called La Chine. It derived its name from the first French navigators of the stream, who fancied, when in their ascent they had arrived at this point, that they were approaching China. From La Chine, however, half an hour's railway ride takes you, not to Peking, but to Montreal. Montreal, in its straight narrow streets, and substantial stone houses, still bears all the appearance of what it formerly was—an ancient French city. Here at the time I made no stay, but, intending shortly to return, I embarked once more on a steamer and descended the St. Lawrence to Quebec, the Gibraltar of America.

Joining on to the western fortifications of this city are the Plains of Abraham, with their deep precipitous bank, sloping to the river. What patriot could visit Quebec without traversing the battle-field where Wolfe "died happy," and where Montcalm rejoiced that he should not survive the surrender of the city which had been committed to his defence?

In an open space in the upper part of Quebec, an obelisk has been erected, with an inscription, thus commencing:

WOLFE. MONTCALM.  
mortem virtus communem,  
fama historia,  
monumentum posteritas  
dedit.

So far the inscription is perfect; but, alas!

That maiden's bust, as fair as heart could wish,  
Should foully end, with scaly tail, a fish!

The inscription proceeds at considerable length to tell you that the monument was put up when Lord Dalhousie was governor; that he had promoted the undertaking by his patronage and liberality, and asks you triumphantly, what could be more worthy than this of "duce egregio," an illustrious general. In fact, the greater part of this inscription is a monument to the bad taste of the late Earl of Dalhousie. Is there no friend of his family in Canada who will do it and the public the kindness to get three-quarters of the inscription chiselled out?



The villagers about Quebec speak nothing but French, if at least a dialect may be so called which the modern Parisians cannot understand. They are primitive, poor, ignorant, well-disposed, and contented. Of confiding and flexible characters, they are governed by the village priest and the village doctor. Their custom is of small value to us, as they produce, or make nearly all that little which they consume or use. They call their Indian neighbours *les sauvages*; and the Indians might, perhaps, without much injustice, retort the appellation.

Returning to Montreal, I there made what inquiries I could respecting the general feeling and condition of the colony. Several circumstances had recently occurred to create a strong desire for annexation with the United States in the breasts of many of the Canadians. By the free-trade principles, which England had recently adopted, she had deprived her colonies of the monopoly of supplying the home market. The Canadian merchants had for some time been losing money; but they thought money was to be made again, if they could get the advantage of the New York market without being subjected to the duty (20 per cent. I believe) which they now have to pay; and that they could raise funds for public works on better terms, when they should have passed what they considered as a transition state. In the rebellion of 1837, the humbler of the Scotch emigrants were in favour of annexation, and the corresponding class of Irish were opposed to it; from either of which circumstances it might fairly be assumed that the land would increase in value if the country should become a portion of the United States. To those who were influenced by mere mercenary motives was now to be added (if at least we may judge from the tone of their speeches and newspapers) a considerable number of a class, which had hitherto been considered the warmest advocates of the British connexion; but which was now goaded in an opposite direction by party rancour and disappointed ambition. A Conservative ministry having dissolved the Canadian parliament, and being outvoted in their own new parliament, Lord Elgin could not do otherwise than construct a ministry on different principles out of the radical and French-Canadian parties. Its measures gave great dissatisfaction to the Conservative party; but they seemed to consider their greatest grievance to be that the governor-general, in his anxiety to conciliate the partisans of the new ministry, had unnecessarily slighted, in the intercourse of private life, the chiefs of the English Tory party, who had been instrumental in putting down the former rebellion. Probably these slights have been much exaggerated by the watchful suspicions of the Tories; for I heard so trifling a matter as that he had at his own table asked a Radical to take wine with him, and then asked one of the recognised Tory leaders to join them, alleged in Montreal against Lord Elgin as a mortal offence. Be that as it may, the effects of his unpopularity are serious. Some straggling soldiers, at the time of the rebellion, had been caught, and killed, with wanton cruelty, by the Canadian Radicals. This is still remembered throughout the army; and officers and men sympathise with the Tories in their dislike to the governor-general, whom they regard as the friend of the butchers of their comrades. In the spring of 1849, the parliament-houses at Montreal were intentionally, and publicly, set on fire and burnt down, with no opposition from those who are usually counted upon as the

friends of order. The ruin was spoken of, when it was pointed out to me, as the "Elgin Marbles."

The British connexion would probably receive the support of the Roman Catholic priests, who have generally been protected in the possession of the large property originally granted to them by the French government. I understand that the priests are considered moral and charitable; but they leave the people in ignorance.

Wages are not so high in Canada as in the United States; but money, being less plentiful, goes further. A farmer or a farm-labourer may do well in the western portions of Canada, where the best wheat-growing lands in America are said to lie. Provisions there are cheap and plentiful; but the difficulty for the farmer is to turn into money that portion of his produce which he does not consume, as neither the markets nor the roads to them are as good as those of the United States, and the steam-boats on the St. Lawrence charge highly for the conveyance of stock. A man, therefore, who settles in Canada, should be slow to part with his money, knowing that he will have a great difficulty in getting it back again; but, if cautious in this respect, he will probably do well.

At a *table d'hôte* in Montreal I sat next a gentleman advanced in years, a magistrate, and person of great intelligence and considerable property, farming his own estate on the Ottawa River. It was his honourable boast that as a boy he had arrived in Canada, from the Western Islands of Scotland, with only one shilling in his pocket. He informed me that on his farm he paid his male labourers from 25*l.* to 30*l.*\* a year, with their board, giving them four meals a day; and added, that, what with making potash, fencing, &c., in the winter, he contrived to keep his men employed all the year round. He was satisfied with Lord Elgin, and well pleased with the English connexion.

I will add another anecdote of a Highlander. The tourist in Scotland has probably seen a small river-island, near the village of Killen, where sleep the rude forefathers of the clan of Macnab. Its chieftain having sold his land to the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Marquis of Carrabas of the neighbourhood, migrated to Canada in the early part of this century, taking with him the greater part of his little clan. It was told me that the chief, attempting to transfer his hereditary dignity from the Old World to the New, left on Sir Allan Macnab a card, on which his name was written as "The Macnab;" and that thereupon Sir Allan wrote upon a card, "The other Macnab," and left it in return.

On the 1st day of October I entered New England, and passed through the states of Vermont and New Hampshire to Massachusetts.

Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, in her very interesting "Travels in the United States," asserts, and with good grounds, that "Massachusetts boasts of Mr. Webster as one of her children." But he is a child of Massachusetts by adoption, and not by birth; for he was born, and spent his boyhood, in New Hampshire. I believe the same distinguished authoress alludes to, and quotes rather loosely, a sentence from one of the speeches of Mr. Webster, which deserves, from its magnificence, to be presented

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\* I presume of Canadian currency, in which four dollars, or a trifle more than sixteen shillings English money, make a pound.



with accuracy. After stating that, in the attempt to impose taxes without granting representation, the Americans saw the germ of an unjust power, the great orator adds: "On this question of principle, while actual suffering was yet far off, they raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts—whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

In 1830, Mr. Webster's oratorical powers were put to their severest test. He had spoken in the United States' senate, and Mr. Hayne, a senator of great distinction, from South Carolina, had been pitted against him to answer. Mr. Hayne's speech was agreed by the friends of both sides to be most successful; and all parties said that poor Webster was smashed and done for. But Mr. Webster proved to be one,

That, where the meaner faint, can only feel;

and, ever since his reply, he has been regarded as the ablest speaker in the United States; and is, perhaps, at this day, the most impressive living orator that wields the English language.

Some years ago, Mr. Webster visited England, and it would be interesting to learn what he thought of the English speakers. His opinion of those in the House of Commons I did not hear; but, after his return, he told his Boston friends, the best four speakers in the House of Lords were Lord Brougham, Lord Lyndhurst, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Bishop of London.

But I must revert to my own tour. When I last took my bearings, I was in the New England railway "cars," bound for the state of Massachusetts. I stopped at its chief manufacturing city, Lowell.

To the philanthropist, Lowell is the most interesting city in the world; proving, as it does, that the manufacturing system need not produce the moral or physical degradation of the operative. The greatest precautions have been taken to render it here the parent of as much good, and as little evil, as possible to those employed. The zeal of friends—the warning of enemies—have conduced to the same result. The whole ground on which the factories are built belonged originally, and the magnificent waterworks by which all the mills, cotton, carpeting, calico-printing, &c., are supplied, still belong to one corporation; and certain general rules are observed by all the companies using the ground and the water of that corporation. According to these, an operative dismissed for misconduct from one mill is never employed in another. Each company possesses long rows, or "blocks," of boarding-houses, some for males, some for females. Respectable persons are sought out, upon whom dependence can be placed, to exercise a supervision on the morals of the boarders. To these the lodging-houses are let at very low rents, averaging only from one half to a third of those produced in other portions of the city by similar houses. In return, the board charged weekly to the mill operatives, who alone, unless by special permission, are to be taken in, is very small—being 1\* dollar 75 cents for a man, and 1 dollar 25 cents for a woman, the week.

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\* An English sovereign is worth 4 dollars 84 cents. A cent is worth about an English halfpenny.

It was stated that the average earnings, after deducting board, were—of a man 4 dollars 80 cents, and of a woman 2 dollars, the week. But, in some cotton-mills there, called the Merrimack mills, one remarkably good work-woman, who had long made, besides the price of her board, 6 dollars each week, was pointed out to me. The boarding-housekeepers are required to prohibit intoxicating liquids, to lock the outer doors at ten o'clock at night, and to see, as far as may be, that on Sunday the operatives attend some place of public worship. All persons working in a mill are compelled to lodge in one of its boarding-houses, unless they obtain an exemption under special circumstances, such as having friends living in the city. It had previously been told me that the factory girls spent too much on their dress; but, though they were generally dressed with neatness when working in the factories, and with smartness on Sundays, I never saw anything ludicrous or extravagant in their appearance. I was at Lowell on a Sunday, and went to one of the churches, where was a large and well-conducted congregation, of which, I believe, a considerable proportion were factory girls. In Massachusetts there is no act of the state legislature limiting the hours of labour; but in the adjoining state of New Hampshire, a ten hours bill has been carried. In the manufacturing town, however, of Manchester, in the latter state, its provisions have been evaded, as the Lowell people told me, by means of special agreements with the operatives. The manufacturing population of Lowell is not like the corresponding population in England—stationary. To Lowell a girl comes from the country, and works for three or four years in a mill; sometimes to support herself, sometimes to assist her parents, and often that, when she marries, she may have more than her face for her fortune. When the mills are out of work, she generally returns with a full purse and good character to her old home; which all along she has continued occasionally to visit. Whereas our operatives, having no other home to which to go, must remain idly in the town, with little advantage to themselves, and less to the neighbourhood, waiting for the mills to be once more set to work. The New England people greatly prefer working in factories to going into service. Hence the domestic servants there are principally supplied from the Irish and the free negroes; but these two races do not agree well together.

The “public,” that is the free, schools of Lowell, as of Massachusetts generally, are excellent. It is, I understand, considered in New England, and most properly so, to be no degradation for a young lady of excellent social position, who may fancy that such is her vocation, to teach in a public school as a salaried schoolmistress. There are three classes of schools in Massachusetts in which children are educated free of expense. They are called the primary, the grammar, and the high schools. In the lowest the boys and girls are educated together by females. When they rise to the higher schools they are separated; and the sex of the teacher follows that of the pupil. And teaching in the common school-rooms of Massachusetts you may see young ladies with acquirements, manners, and personal attractions, superior to the average of those to be found in the fashionable drawing-rooms of a European metropolis. The sons of all classes attend the public schools: but these schools are not generally frequented by the daughters of wealthy persons. The standard of general education is much higher in the northern parts of the United States than it is in England.



On my road from Lowell to Boston I passed through Lexington, where, according to the inscription on an obelisk on its common, fell "the first victims of British tyranny and oppression, on the morning of the ever memorable 19th of April, An. Dom. 1775. The die was cast!!! The blood of these martyrs in the cause of God and their country was the cement of the union of these states, then colonies." And I saw an old gentleman who, as a boy, had taken part with the colonists in that fatal and pregnant skirmish, and had two relatives and namesakes killed on the field. This village gives name in the west to another Lexington.

Boston, the Athens of America, unites the characteristics possessed by Edinburgh, and its port Leith, in the early part of this century. Prescott,\* Ticknor, Everett, Winthrop, Longfellow, Sparks, Choate, Sumner, Curtis, Agassiz, Guyot, shed the variegated lustre of their high intellectual attainments over the capital of the "Bay State." But Mr. Bancroft, the historian of the United States, has recently removed from here to the city of New York; where, also, I believe, lives Mr. Bryant, whom the most intellectual of his countrymen consider the first of their poets.

The merchants of Boston are enterprising. They are eager to acquire wealth; desiring to show, by the success of their combinations, their superior intelligence; but they bestow it on public charities with princely liberality. They aspire not, as with us, to found a family, but a hospital. Men who inherit wealth do not for the most part prosper, either in the free states of the Union or in Canada. They are not from their very position thrust prominently into politics or the magistracy; nor is there a class of such men, having fixed habits and modes of living, with whom they can amalgamate. The most sensible heads of families in the northern cities of the United States have said to me that they were anxious to observe the bent of the geniuses of their sons, to train them, in correspondence with that, to a business or profession, and to give or leave them enough to start them in life, but not enough to make them independent of their own exertions. In Boston, the notions of decorum are unusually strict. This is not without its disadvantages as well as advantages; for a youth, who may have once got the character of being a little wild, loses, without the slightest chance of redeeming, his social position. And, as the celebrated university of Harvard, sometimes called Cambridge, from a village, within five miles of Boston, in which it is situated, collects young men from all parts of the Union, there must here be ample temptation to get into serapes.

The Revere House at Boston is, as far as my experience goes, the best hotel in the United States. Apropos to which, I will add a few words about the American manner of living at hotels, elsewhere than in the watering-places. Every hotel has two entrances, a public and a private one. The public entrance is for gentlemen, the private is for ladies and those gentlemen who may attend them. It is not usual to take private

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\* At the Liverpool custom-house the American copyright edition of Mr. Prescott's "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," for which I had within the previous fortnight given six dollars at New York, was taken from me, as Mr. Prescott had sold the copyright for England to an English publisher, who had placed the book on the custom-house prohibited list. If in the United States a corresponding privilege were granted to our authors, Mr. Macaulay would be the richer man by some thousands of pounds.

sitting-rooms ; but there is in every hotel a large, comfortable, well-furnished drawing-room, for the exclusive use of ladies and those gentlemen appended to them : and there is a sitting-room, commonly very uncomfortable, though very comfortable at the Revere House, for all other gentlemen. In the large hotels, the ladies and their cavaliers dine often in different rooms, and at different hours, and almost always at different tables from the gentlemen who have the misfortune to be unattached. The dinner hour varies at the best hotels from two to five ; but the most general dinner hour is three. A gong is sounded all through the hotel, to give notice when the meals are ready. At dinner, the waiters put on the courses, take off the covers, and remove the courses, altogether ; and not quietly, but with a great flourish. Abundance of newspapers are taken by the hotels for the benefit of their guests. Two dollars a head per day is paid for board and lodging at the Revere House, exclusive of wine. On their wine the landlords, called in America “proprietors,” make a great profit ; for they charge two dollars for a quart bottle of good wine of the ordinary descriptions. They would, probably, in the end, make more by their wine, if they charged less ; as the majority of persons now do not call for it at all. You may have private sitting-rooms and meals if you like ; but you must pay very dearly for your exclusiveness. The hotel accommodation at the great cities is not sufficient for the public demand ; and, therefore, the “proprietor,” who assigns you a good room, confers, rather than receives, a favour. As soon as you arrive at an hotel you should enter in a book your name and residence. Opposite to them will immediately be written the number of your bedroom ; and you will soon learn not to be surprised when the numerals are hundreds. Boots is the only servant who has a positive claim upon your purse ; but, if you stay any length of time, or receive from a chambermaid or waiter any particular attention, it is common to give them each a trifle as a matter of favour. What an improvement upon the English system of exorbitant payment to (substantially charges for) hotel servants ! In almost every hotel there is, as far as possible removed from the drawing-room, a bar-room, where liquors, and all sorts of preparations from them are sold. In most parts of the country, and particularly in the south and west, it is the custom, and especially with young men, to treat each other at the bar. One young man asks his male friends to take a drink, and pays for all. The next time any of them meet him, he is asked in return. The original motive, probably, in both cases is kindness and hospitality ; but a habit of drinking may be thus produced. Nor can it be doubted that the bar-room has been, to many a noble-hearted young fellow, the vestibule to the grave. To treat at a bar is in England considered ungentlemanlike. Would to God it were so throughout the United States !

But the space which I have occupied warns me that I should think of drawing my article to a conclusion, though some of the more prominent subjects of interest remain to be noticed.

More than once have I visited all the principal “Atlantic” cities ; and in the spring of 1850 I steamed up, and in the commencement of the following winter I steamed down, the Ohio and the southern Mississippi.

Of the Atlantic cities, proceeding southward from Boston, I will first mention New Haven, in the State of Connecticut. It contains the university of Yale College, which is adorned by a collection of historical



paintings and valuable minerals, and by the cabinet and conversation of the venerable Professor Silliman. One sweet, calm summer's night, as I was passing in a steamer through Long Island Sound, which flows between New Haven and New York, the idea of scribbling a few verses occurred to me. May I venture to transcribe the lines?—

The ripple it trembles and kisses the strand,  
To the sea-weed bends loving the bough from the land ;  
And in silence the trees with their arms interlace,  
As we glide past the hills that the ocean embrace.

'The moon 'mid the stars, sure she looks like a bride,  
Who loves to see glitter her maids by her side :  
She's too kind to outshine her young sisters that pass,  
And smile on the ocean, like girls on their glass.

And old Ocean, he smoothes down his billow the while,  
To reflect on his surface their delicate smile ;  
But broad gleams the moon's image his bosom above,  
'Tis for her throbs in tides the strong pulse of his love.

Let us now proceed from New York by "the cars" to Philadelphia. In the "Quaker City," as might be supposed, ease and comfort seem more regarded than show. The society is very agreeable, and the prevailing taste rather literary, though far from pedantic. In no other city of the Union does the female voice so much resemble that of England. It is more sweet than that of New York, less sweet than that of Virginia. I was introduced to a lady of the Jewish persuasion, residing in this city, from whom Sir Walter Scott is said to have drawn, on the information of Mr. Washington Irving, his character of Rebecca. Here a club of distinguished gentlemen of the city, meeting in each other's houses, assemble every Saturday evening in the spring. The members have the privilege of bringing strangers; and often, by their kindness in using it, they give them a general and very agreeable introduction to society. The meetings are called "Wistar Parties," in honour of their founder. Respecting Philadelphia, I will only add that, though in a state of commercial prosperity, it does not grow as rapidly as its enterprising neighbours on either side, New York and Baltimore.

Baltimore is the first important city in a slave-owning state that the traveller from the north reaches. The houses of the principal gentry are very large, as much for the accommodation of the numerous slaves as the master; and behind these houses are substantial out-buildings, in which the married domestic slaves have separate bedrooms assigned them. The word "slave" is banished from the vocabulary of a Southern, and "servant" is substituted in its stead. On the hackneyed subject of slavery there is not space to enter; but I am bound in candour to state, that, having spent altogether nearly a year in the slave-owning states, I have not seen one single case in which any slave has been treated with cruelty by his master or his master's agent; and I have universally found the domestic slaves treated with what, were it shown in England to our own servants, of the same race with ourselves, would be considered unreasonable indulgence. Let who may support a cause, abstractedly good, with pious frauds; I will not.

From Baltimore a two hours' journey on the railroad takes you to

Washington. The federal city is most happily raised above the waves of popular agitation by its entire want of manufacturing or commercial importance. It is the conception of a great city very partially executed. Its public buildings are magnificent, its streets are broad; but its private houses are irregular, poor, and often of wood. If this picture does not quite realise the impression which an American entertains of his national capital, he may perhaps forgive me when I add that it corresponds almost exactly with the description given by Montesquieu of Rome, long before it had been adorned and enslaved by the Cæsars: "Les maisons étoient placées sans ordre et très petites; car les hommes, toujours au travail ou dans la place publique, ne se tenoient guère dans les maisons. Mais la grandeur de Rome parut bientôt dans ses édifices publics. On commençoit déjà à bâtir la ville éternelle."

When staying at different times in Washington, I frequently attended the United States senate, which is not "degraded" from the position of the most dignified and intellectual legislative assembly in the world by the open "reception of a regular stipend"\*—a custom which it derived from the English parliamentary practice of an age when lands were not sold to railway companies, nor allotments of shares received from railway companies, by members of either house!

In February, 1850, I was present in the senate house, when Mr. Clay made his great statesmanlike and conciliatory speech, with the hope (which I trust will prove to have been entirely realised) of producing a compromise between the opposing interests and prejudices of the northern and southern states. In the following March, I was present, when Mr. Walker, the distinguished senator from Wisconsin, with that kindness of feeling with which he has recently won so many hearts in England, resigned his claim on the floor to Mr. Webster; who rose and delivered a speech on the compromise, of which the manner and the matter were worthy of the best days of the Roman senate. I was present, too, on the 17th of July, in the same year, when Mr. Webster made another great speech on the compromise, in which his remarks on the subject of dictation by the represented to the representative are especially worthy of the consideration of the statesman.

From Washington, continuing on the east side of the United States, and proceeding southward, we arrive at Richmond, the capital of Virginia. This handsome city was named from its resemblance in situation to Richmond, in Surrey, which had been named by King Henry VII., in honour of his castle and earldom of Richmond, in Yorkshire. And it is satisfactory that some place in the New World should derive its name, however indirectly, from him under whose auspices the European foot was first planted by Cabot on the continent of America. Richmond, viewed socially, reminded me of an English cathedral city in an agricultural district; but it has the advantage of being the seat of a state legislature and the residence

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\* "The National Assembly [of France] was degraded by the reception of a regular stipend"!—Leading Article of the *Times*, 10 December, 1851. A United States' senator is paid 8 dollars a day during the sitting of Congress. A judge of the Supreme Court of the United States receives 6000 dollars, or a little more than 1200*l.* a year. The President of the United States receives 20,000 dollars, or a little more than 4000*l.* a year, and is provided with a house. It is to be regretted that in the United States no pensions are given to retiring judges.



of an accomplished bar. Whilst I was at Richmond, a convention was held there, to form a new state constitution : on the basis on which future representatives should be elected the eastern and western members differed; and the views of one party were advocated by Mr. Stanard, and of the other by Mr. Somers, in speeches of great ability. In personal appearance, the members of the convention resembled a large bench of West Riding magistrates assembled at Pontefract sessions.

From Richmond, proceeding south, we arrive at Charleston, the principal city of South Carolina; for whose gallant sons and fair daughters I have too much regard not to hope (as indeed I believe) that they will not much longer feel bound to trouble themselves or the Union with projects of secession. In South Carolina I spent some time very agreeably under the hospitable roof of an opulent rice-planter. It is in the slave-holding states only that you meet with large landed properties, there called plantations. The planter of consideration is a compound of the feudal baron, the well-bred English country gentleman, and the farmer. Those who would know something of life on a plantation may be referred to an interesting novel by Mrs. Gilman, of Charleston, called "*Recollections of a Southern Matron*," and published in New York.

Let us now pass in a south-westerly direction to New Orleans, the great port of the Valley of the Mississippi—the future bread-basket of the world.

I happened to be there on the 8th of January, 1850, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. An opportunity for processions and speeches is, in the United States, seldom lost. Such national celebrations must be useful in keeping up patriotism to fever heat; but the speeches delivered by the mob-orators sometimes evince an extraordinary bad taste, and must be intensely humiliating to the more polished of their countrymen. Of such a nature were some of the addresses made at New Orleans on this occasion. I will add a few words, therefore, on the victory of New Orleans.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, the forces under General Jackson have been computed to have been about 20,000 men, principally recruits; those of Sir Edward Pakenham about 8000, principally veterans. General Jackson's camp, lying between New Orleans and the British army, was strongly fortified by ditches, by high outworks, and by a breastwork made of cotton bales. The British in vain had endeavoured to provoke the Americans to leave their camp, and engage in open fight. The camp they then determined to storm. Now General Jackson had consulted General Adair, the commander of the Kentucky volunteers, as to what would probably be the British mode of attack, and how it should be repelled. General Adair had answered that he knew the material of which the British army was composed, and that there was no mode of repelling the troops but killing them, and that he presumed an assault would be made at night; and in several divisions, in order to divert attention from that which should be the principal point of attack. The commander-in-chief replied: "Then do you act as you may think best; you will receive no orders from me." In the grey of morning, before daybreak, the British came to the assault in three divisions: and General Adair put his ear to the ground; and, having heard in what direction the tread of the greatest number of feet came, there directed his unerring Kentucky

riflemen.\* But the British colonel, to whom the duty had been assigned of seeing that the scaling implements were brought up, had forgotten it. Yet, without these, three times did the British advance to the works; and three times were the first ranks swept away to a man by the fire of an unseen foe. At length they retired unpursued; their commander-in-chief being killed, and two of their generals wounded, one mortally, and about 2000, officers and men, having been killed or wounded. On burying the dead, nearly a thousand bodies in British uniforms, without one American corpse among them, were found within the space of a few hundred yards. One soldier succeeded in getting to the top of the innermost works, and he expired of his wounds the next day. His dying request was that his colonel might be informed that he had mounted the rampart.† It was complied with by the Americans, by whom, indeed, the wounded were very kindly treated. I endeavoured in vain to learn his name.

And now a word to the people of New Orleans.

I had rather lie with the slaughtered in the dank swamp below your city, than—as a son of those who took their aim from behind a rampart of cotton bales with the cool deliberation of perfect safety—be the man to insult and trample upon the graves of heroes. *Siste! Heroes calcas!* If not,—let the Persians exult in Thermopylæ!

The battle of New Orleans was the last of those conflicts—may it ever continue to be the last—in which we were engaged with our American kindred. The impulses of the heart, and the reasonings of the head, alike call for our fraternal union; and on that, perhaps, under Providence, may hang for untold ages the constitutional liberties of the human race.

If the tourist should desire to proceed from New Orleans to New York by “the western waters,” he may ascend the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Pittsburg, in magnificent steam-boats, with an uninterrupted navigation of 2025 miles; and then, from Pittsburg may proceed, in a journey of about two days and nights, partly by coaches and partly by railroad-cars, to the great commercial city of “the Empire State.”

The traveller, according to this route, leaving the sugar plantations of Louisiana, with their adjacent orange groves, and their evergreen oaks, the branches of which are laden with a long grey moss, resembling at a distance the nets of fishermen hung to dry, soon arrives at “the bluff,” or high bank, of Natches; where fields of cotton take the place of those of sugar-cane, and where are country houses, with grounds kept in as good order as those around an English gentleman’s seat. He has been told of the snags, and sandbanks, and double-pressure engine-boilers, which endanger him who confides himself to the Mississippi; but has disregarded the warnings. Yet at Natches he remembers with a sigh, that he is near the spot, where, worn out by disease, fatigue, and disappointment, died, on the 21st of May, 1542, Ferdinand de Soto; and that, ominously for his race, the discoverer of the Mississippi was buried beneath its waters.

The most wonderful characteristic of this great river is, that, for much more than a thousand miles, it continues, in its progress, to swallow up

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\* The facts connected with General Adair I was told by his son-in-law, a distinguished judge of one of the United States’ courts.

† Idem.



immense rivers without disclosing on its surface the slightest accession to its mighty bulk. Along the banks of its southern portion, grows, self-planted, in the greatest abundance, a tree, called the cotton-wood, something resembling our lime-tree. It is a regular business to cut and stack this wood, and then to sell it at so much a cord to the steam-boats to burn in their furnaces. Fortunately it is of most rapid growth, or the supply could not equal the demand. I was assured (however paradoxical it may seem) that a steamer makes her journey more rapidly up than down this river; for every time that, in descending, she has to stop, she must make a wide sweep in order to bring her head up against the stream. The water is muddy, and of a leaden colour, but is considered very wholesome. And the paternal duties of "the father of waters" seem to be more extended than his name denotes, as the beverage (if it may be whispered without scandal) is said also to be very prolific.

After leaving the southern Mississippi, with its generally low banks of rich alluvial soil, ten or twelve feet in thickness, and entering the hilly, yet not mountainous, district watered by the beautiful Ohio, we lose sight of cotton-fields, but a fine maize-growing and grazing country presents itself to the view.

Space forbids me to describe the three great cities of the Ohio, Louisville, Cincinnati, and Pittsburg; the last of which, being in a neighbourhood where coal and iron are to be procured, has become the Birmingham of America. Neither may I dilate upon the warm true hearts and open hands of Kentucky; nor the hospitable roofs of its sweet inland town of Lexington, surrounded by the straightest and tallest oaks and the richest grass\* that I ever saw, and honoured by having its neighbourhood selected for his residence by the venerable statesman Mr. Clay. I will, however, just add a few remarks on a business to which we have nothing parallel in England, and turn one lingering retrospect to my impressions of the Mammoth Cave.

In the rich lands of the state of Kentucky and the State of Ohio, great quantities of Indian corn, called by the Americans simply "corn" *par excellence*, are raised; and, in order to save the expense of drawing it in waggons a great distance over indifferent roads to Louisville and Cincinnati for exportation, the inhabitants keep large droves of pigs, called by the Americans "hogs," in their woods during the spring and summer, and at the end of autumn turn them for a month into the fields of Indian corn, to tread down and eat up the crop. This they call "giving the crop legs." They then, as soon as the first frost of winter sets in, drive the fattened animals to their river ports, where they are killed, salted, put in barrels, and shipped off.

On the 5th of September, 1850, I went over the pork-house of Messrs. Jackson, Owsley, and Co., in Louisville. They were then killing 1400 pigs a day, but they had been killing as many as 2000 pigs, and can kill as many as 2500, a day. The pigs were driven up to a narrow point, where they were let into a raised slaughter-house one by one. There they immediately received a violent blow on the head (just behind the

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\* This grass, from its tint, is commonly spoken of as "the blue grass of Kentucky." It rises spontaneously when the undergrowth of cane has been cleared away from the woods. I have been told that after a time it dies or changes its qualities; but this curious statement I had not an opportunity of satisfactorily authenticating.

ear, I believe) from a hammer, having a circular iron or leaden head, when—how unlike, alas! the killing of a pig with us—they “died, and made no sign.” As soon as they fell, a knife was stuck into their necks to make them bleed. They were then pushed forward into a large trough of hot water, and deprived of their bristles by scraping; then taken out at the other end, disembowelled, passed on to another portion of the building, and hung up to cool. The next day they were in a minute cut up, and packed with salt in barrels, for exportation to New Orleans and New York—thence to be distributed over the world.

From Louisville, a sixteen or eighteen hours’ journey takes the tourist to “the mammoth cave of Kentucky.” It is situated in a hilly district of limestone rock; and has waters where swim fish, in which, through the reasonable thriftfulness of nature, that bestows nothing in vain, the eye has never been developed, but is entirely covered beneath the skin.—Would their descendants, if removed into the light, obtain their sight? Ay! and would the foot, the skin, the hair, the skull, and the intellect of the negro, if his race were for countless ages engrafted on Europe, develop the European peculiarities?—Well, in the mammoth cave I proceeded by torchlight nine miles under ground, occasionally in boats across rivers, but mostly on dry land. It was sometimes rising to the height of hundreds of feet, sometimes so low that I had to stoop in walking; at one time awful with solemn aisles filled with stalactite pillars, at another time terrible with rocky roofs which had fallen, or were threatening to fall; it was one while black with manganese, another while resplendent with gypsum spars. Now Tartarus—now Elysium—now Pandemonium—now fairyland—it gives the traveller new ideas, and illustrates old ones.

In my expedition I was accompanied by a negro slave of considerable intelligence, who acts as guide; and who, according to the will of his late master, Dr. Croghan, is shortly to be emancipated and sent to Liberia. He had been one of an exploring party that had discovered in the cave a river, which has been named the Echo River. His voice is good; and, as we crossed that river, he sang a song, which was exquisitely reverberated. I asked him if he should not, when in Africa, often think of the mammoth cave; he answered, in a voice of much feeling, “Often.” Suggested by these incidents, the few following lines were written by me, as “Stephen’s Adieu to the Echo of the Mammoth Cave.” They have been published by the editor of the *Washington National Intelligencer*, to whom they were given by one of my friends:

The silent darkness of the grave  
Had held thee, Echo! ages bound,  
When first I waked thee in thy cave  
And taught thee love notes sound for sound.

I now must seek far Afric’s lands  
Across the broad Atlantic sea;  
Yet ’neath her palms, or ’mid her sands,  
Sweet songstress! I will think of thee.

But thou, thou sportive light coquette,  
Wilt answer each gay passing rover,  
With voice as sweet as ever yet  
Thou breathedst on thy first fond lover.

(From the *New Monthly Magazine*.)



RECOLLECTIONS OF NORTH AMERICA,  
IN 1849-50-51.

PART II.

BY W. E. SURTEES, D.C.L.





## RECOLLECTIONS OF NORTH AMERICA, IN 1849-50-51.

BY. W. E. SURTEES, D.C.L.

## PART II.

THE two places of North America, in which I found the greatest novelty, were the mammoth cave in Kentucky and the island of Cuba. Each of these seemed a new and distinct world of itself; in each I found a ground, an atmosphere, and a firmament, unlike what I had ever known before.

On the 1st of April, 1850, I embarked at Charleston in the steam-ship *Isabel*, for Cuba; to which the voyage is usually performed in about four days. But before bidding adieu, for a time at least, to the United States, I will indulge in some recollections of South Carolina, and of a distinguished personage, who, though enrolled by the muse of history amongst the national worthies, was more especially honoured in this his native state.

On that morning the flags in the harbour of Charleston were drooping half-mast high for the death of Mr. Calhoun, which had just been announced by electric telegraph from Washington. Mr. Calhoun, one of the senators returned by South Carolina to Congress, was possessed of an intellect unusually logical and wonderfully rapid; had great experience in public affairs, having filled with the highest credit the situation of secretary-at-war, and twice been elected to the second office in the nation, the office of vice-president; and, as leader of the democratic party, and champion of what in the South are called "Southern Rights," had often in the senate been opposed to Mr. Webster; who, even were he—what the late Mr. Sidney Smith said no man could be—"as clever\* as he looks," must have felt on these occasions, that, in the intellectual combat, he might joy in a "foeman worthy of his steel." Those who questioned Mr. Calhoun's judgment, never questioned his disinterested sincerity; for, since the death of Washington, the purity, both in public and private life, of no other statesman has been more universally acknowledged than his. Mr. Calhoun's forehead was high and prominent, though it seemed to me scarcely so high or so full as that of Mr. Webster; nor had it that "pent-house" projection at the eyebrow, which is the most striking characteristic of Mr. Clay's face, and which phrenologists would say was a sure sign of the acuteness of the perceptive faculties, and of that tact which the patriotic senator from Kentucky has often evinced in the management of men and parties. When I saw Mr. Calhoun, his large, bony, and manly face was wasted by consumption, and pallid with the shadow of coming death; but intelligence beamed from every feature and every line. His eye was very luminous. His hair, which was nearly white (for he was within three years of seventy), bristled up from the sides and top of his head like the quills of a porcupine.† This gave something of a wildness to his expression, which, however, was often sunned away by a winning

\* In some portions of the United States "clever" is understood as meaning weakly amiable, or, in slang language, "soft." I will not presume to anticipate the verdict of future critics, and affirm that this was the sense in which it was applied by Mr. Sidney Smith to Mr. Webster.

† In one of the public buildings of Charleston, there is a statue of Mr. Calhoun by Mr. Power, in which his hair is represented as having a wavy curl.

smile. His mouth was wide ; but his thin and compressed upper and under lip indicated a man—

Master of others' passions and his own.

Mr. Calhoun, like most of the prominent politicians in the United States, belonged to the profession of the law—a profession whose individual members do not here realise a property at all commensurate to the vast influence which they exercise. But if they possess less wealth, they care less for its possession, than do the mercantile classes. Their standing depends upon other circumstances; and it is one of the most creditable features in the country that it should be so. They and their families seem to owe their position to their simplicity, their integrity, their intelligence, and their cultivation. Rather more than a fortnight before his death, Mr. Calhoun, on whom I had left a letter of introduction, wrote, stating that he was too ill to call on me, but requesting me to call on him at the boarding-house in Washington, where he had taken up his quarters. He received me in a large room, which he seemed to use as a sitting-room as well as bedroom, unless when occupying the public drawing-room of the house. His manner was open and friendly; and, indeed, such were the manners which I invariably found amongst those of the leading American statesmen, to whom, at Washington, I had the honour of being introduced. He remarked upon the dangers that menaced the Union, and rather despondingly.\* Alluding, I presume, to the large preponderance which the members from the non-slave-holding states had already acquired in the national house of representatives, and the preponderance which, were California admitted as a non-slave-holding state, they would acquire in the senate, he spoke of the balance of power of the different interests as being destroyed; and declared that there was little chance of maintaining the Union, unless some efficient check should be provided, by which one interest should be protected from the aggression of another; and added, that in England this balance or check was effected by means of our House of Lords. He was under a state of considerable excitement; appeared feverish; and spoke loudly and with the greatest rapidity. He did not volunteer to explain how he thought this protective check should be created; nor did I consider it right then to ask him; and I may not now presume to throw out a conjecture. But time will probably reveal his ideas on this subject; for he has left behind him the manuscript of a work on government, which the state of South Carolina has desired the privilege of publishing at its own expense. Mr. Calhoun was so kind as to ask me to call again; but, considering his state of health, I thought that I had no right to indulge myself in the gratification which another visit would have afforded me.

But it is time that I should turn from the senator to the state which he represented, and to the city where he was adored.

The imprisonment, by the state authorities, of all free "coloured" persons who may arrive in Charleston in ships, whether they be citizens of the northern states, of the Union, or of foreign countries, has, of late years, been a subject of complaint both at home and abroad. In South

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\* It must, of course, be recollected that his own illness might lead him to take a dark and contracted view of the political horizon.



Carolina the "coloured" is more numerous than the white population; and, as it was feared, and probably with reason, that the more fanatical of the emancipationists would employ free stranger negroes to excite the slaves to rise against their masters, any free person "of colour" is, on the arrival of a ship, arrested and confined in prison, in order to prevent him from holding a dangerous intercourse with the slaves; but, when the vessel that brought him is about to sail, he is returned to it.

From Massachusetts, some years ago, an active emancipationist came to Charleston to reside. His object was that he might be on the spot to maintain the rights of any imprisoned negro citizen of his state, by suing out a writ of *habeas corpus*, not from one of the courts of the state of South Carolina, but from the local branch of the Court of the United States there established. This, as the party aggrieved belonged to a different state from that in which the grievance occurred, he would, according to the national constitution, have had a right to do. But before he had effected anything, he received a hint that, if he would save himself from popular violence, he had better speedily take his departure; and, having that zeal which, in so good a cause, "would live to fight another day," he complied with the suggestion. The legislature of South Carolina, no doubt, has substantial reasons, connected with public safety, for the law that it has passed; and none but the worst of social incendiaries would desire that the emancipation of slaves should be attempted—and there it could not succeed—through midnight massacre and servile war. I have an impression, the correctness of which I have not at this moment the means of ascertaining, that the free "coloured" sailors from other states and nations have here to be supported in prison at the expense of the ship which may have brought them; but, certainly, if the citizens of "the Palmetto State" must needs take these precautions for their own security, they should take them at their own expense.

Amongst the churches at Charleston is one said to have been built at the time, and from the plan, of Sir Christopher Wren, and which resembles in style the churches with Grecian porticos erected in London by that great architect. This city has an appearance of age which, in a country where almost everything is new, seems venerable. Charleston, Boston, and New Orleans are the only cities in the United States in which any traces of a past age force themselves on your notice.

The coast of South Carolina is low, and is fenced in by a number of small islands, which often consist of sand only, and grow nothing but the palmetto. The palmetto is a small tree, producing its leaves at the top, like a palm, but having a fan-like instead of sword-like leaf. Its wood is valuable for building wharfs, as it does not rot in the water. It would probably, also, be useful in constructing fortifications, as I think, from its soft nature, a cannon-ball would bury itself in it, and be stopped, without making splinters. Many of the rice-planters have small wooden houses on the islands, to which they go, early in May, to spend the summer. If they have not a house on an island, they generally have one in the pine-forests higher up in the country, in either of which the air, in warm weather, is much more wholesome than in the neighbourhood of the rice-fields. I believe some of these islands produce a very fine cotton, called the sea-island cotton; but all that I saw were barren.

The principal rice planting is on the low flooded lands by the side of the rivers, where the waters are so far from the sea as not to be reached

by the brackish water, and yet so near the sea as to be dammed back by the rising, and let off by the ebbing, of the tide. Such lands in the south are often covered with a deciduous tree, called a cyprus, and are then called cyprus swamps. The rice lands there are prepared at great expense. They are surrounded with a wide embankment, which is constructed with peculiar precautions, in order that the water may not break through it. First a trench is dug, exactly in the course of the intended embankment, and the soil is thrown on each side. Then the soil is thrown back again, and the trench is filled up. Then a large, deep ditch is dug in the inside of the field, and the soil, after having been carefully cleared from all roots, is piled up upon the soil with which the first trench has been filled up, and wooden tunnels—there, I think, called “trunks”—with doors to let the water in and out, are introduced into the bank thus constructed.

The object of digging the first trench, and then filling it up is, that the soil of the bank may amalgamate from its very foundation, and leave no crevices at the bottom; for, if a little water should once percolate, it would presently be followed by a stream that would sweep away the bank. The reason for excluding roots is lest, when they should decay, they might leave a little channel, which the water might penetrate. The bank being made a sufficient height, the fields are cleared, levelled, and drained with ditches. Rice fields require at some periods to be flooded, and at others to be drained; and by opening the doors of the tunnels you can at high tide flood the fields, and at low tide drain them, when you like. Of course, from the district subject to such a mode of cultivation, a very unhealthy exhalation must in hot weather arise; but it is not found seriously injurious to the negroes.

Theft, and the minor offences committed by slaves, are tried and punished by the planter's domestic tribunal; but such offences, as the law visits with death, are tried by the public authorities; and when a slave is capitally executed, his master receives from the state some pecuniary compensation for the loss of his services. In the spring of 1850, at New Orleans, an able-bodied male slave, in the prime of life, was averaged to sell for between 800 and 900 dollars; and a female slave for between 700 and 800 dollars. But then the price of cotton was high; and, with the price of cotton, the price of slaves increases.

A planter is generally most unwilling to sell his slaves; if he parts with any, it is usually as a punishment for their own bad conduct, or as a last resource to relieve his embarrassments. All must regret that by a sale the members of a family may be separated; but it is a satisfaction to know that the public feeling of the south protests against such separations.

Many New England farmers have settled on the rich lands of the slave-holding states\* on the Ohio, in order to cultivate them, not by slave labour, but by their own hands, and those of their children. In the state of Delaware there is but a very small slave population, and in the state of Maryland† the proportion of slaves to freemen is being every day

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\* In Kentucky and the western portion of Virginia.

† It was thought right that the city of Washington, as the seat of the national parliament, should be free from the control of any state legislation; and hence the district in which it was situated, called the District of Columbia, was presented to the national government by the state of Maryland. Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley observes, in her agreeably written tour, that she “hopes and



diminished by European emigration. It is obvious that by peaceable state legislation several of these more northern states must, in the time of the present generation, become free. It is obvious, too, that the absolute and immediate emancipation of the slaves throughout the United States, which some desire, would create, and not remove, misery. The sad experience which we have gained in our West Indian colonies might convince us that personal, like political, freedom requires a long apprenticeship.

The rice planter has his own principal residence on some more elevated ground in the neighbourhood of his rice fields, very likely on a "bluff" by the river; and not far from his own house is a negro village, where his "field hands" live. Scattered about his estates are several large and comfortable cottages, where his overseers, always white men, live. The planter's house is exceedingly comfortable. Nearly all the houses in the country are built of wood, and in the south the country houses are often raised, like wheat stacks, some feet from the ground, so that under them there may be a free ventilation. Comparing the planter to the feudal baron, I should liken his overseers to military retainers; for, in the south, unmixed Caucasian blood is, to a certain extent, considered as aristocracy. Under the overseers are the drivers, the most trustworthy of the slaves, who, not working themselves, have to overlook an allotted number of labourers, and report to the overseers those who may be idle.

In the south, the reception of a visitor is always cordial; and the slaves imitate towards you the friendly manners of their master and mistress, with a familiarity which amuses, but does not offend, you. The familiarity on the other hand of the free negro of the north, not unfrequently partakes of the insolent and offensive. Judging from the manners and appearance of the slaves, agricultural as well as domestic, they are a light-hearted and happy people. Besides the comfort of the negroes, and the private police regulations of the various plantations, there is this remarkable ingredient of security in the slave-holding states,—namely, that the coloured people of mixed blood, whether free or slaves, despise the unmitigated African negro; and, though by law they have no privileges superior to his, they attach themselves more willingly to the white population, as that from which their most honourable descent comes.

Satisfied with the conviction that the blacks are inferior to himself, the mulatto willingly admits his own inferiority to the whites. He compares himself with the negro, and enjoys the pride of birth; and it is but fair that he should have some peculiar topic of consolation, for, with his

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thinks slavery will be done away with soon in the District of Columbia;" and adds in a note, "since the letters were written, this has taken place." But I must remark that slavery is not at present abolished there. As I understand the recent legislation on the compromise question, it abolishes a slave market which used to exist in this district, and prohibits permanent residents here from introducing *new* slaves; and hence, from the emancipation of slaves, which is constantly going on, slavery in the District of Columbia must in time be worn out. I will here remark, as the work is unknown in England, that the ablest defence of "the peculiar institutions" of the south, which I have met with, is a "Memoir on Slavery," by the late William Harper, Chancellor of South Carolina, which was published in the shape of a pamphlet, and has recently been republished at New Orleans, in Dr. Bow's *Review*.

mixed blood, he generally inherits a constitution more fragile than that of either the pure Caucasian or African races.

In warm weather alligators come out of their nests at the sides of the rivers, and bask upon the banks; where also a quantity of terrapin, a sort of fresh-water turtle, considered good eating, are to be found. You here also often see the stork majestically promenading in the rice fields. In the south, buzzards are valued as scavengers; and in Charleston there is a penalty of five dollars for killing one. I have seen there as many as twenty buzzards sitting on the roof of the market-place, whence, as tame as pigeons in a farm-yard, they would fly down, and, almost under the wheels of the carts and the feet of horses that were passing, would devour any scrap of meat that was tossed away from the butchers' stalls. Never were buzzards so petted as these; and, unless their having been protected and pampered so long has precluded all thought on the subject (which if buzzards have any feelings of humanity must be the case), they must suppose that for their roost the roof has been raised, and for their dinner the cattle have been slaughtered.

But at Charleston it is time to hurry on board the *Isabel*, and, loosening the cables from the wharf made of palmetto trunks, to steam off on our voyage to Cuba. I was unable at Charleston to get any work that treated of Cuba: and I am not aware that the English language can boast of any work of high merit on this subject, though the island contains ample materials out of which one of interest might be made; and, if it were illustrated by engravings of the architecture and natural scenery, it would be all the better.\*

It was on the 1st of April, 1850, that I left Charleston. We came off Key West, a little island on the coast of Florida, at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, both to leave and receive mail-bags and passengers. Secure in our large steamer, that walked the water superior to the caprices of the wind, I often thought of the circumstances under which, in the autumn of 1492, Columbus—having, through his enthusiasm and his genius, surmounted innumerable discouragements and difficulties, and having hoisted his flag in the only one of his three small vessels that was decked from end to end—entered, for the first time, these seas, bearing with him the destinies of untold millions in the world which he had left, and in that which he was to reveal.

Heu! quantum fati parva tabella vehit!

The great object of Columbus was to discover a direct western passage to India; and it is satisfactory to be assured that the united enterprise of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race will, in the present age, accomplish,† by canals and railroads across the Isthmus of Panama, the chief hope of the Genoese navigator.

A few hours before arriving at Cuba, you enter the tropics. Cuba was

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\* I have seen the commencement of a series of letters on Cuba, just publishing in the *New York Chronicle*, signed "D.," and attributed to a gentleman, whose industry, candour, and poetic feeling would particularly qualify him (could he only spare time, from his important public avocations, to pay a long visit to the island and digest the materials that he had acquired) to do ample justice, on a larger scale, to the interesting subject.

† The arrangements for obtaining this desirable end have been greatly facilitated by the recent "Bulwer treaty."



the first of the large islands on which Columbus landed. On the 28th of October, 1492, he came in sight of it. Imagining, then, that he was not far from India, he called these islands West Indies, and the red men Indians—names which they have still retained. Here the sky is more deeply blue, the vault of heaven more lofty, the stars more distinct and large, than they appear even in the United States; the sea seems hardly less clear by day than the air, or less brilliant with its phosphoric sparks by night than the starry firmament. So ærial, so pellucid is the deep blue of that water, that no wonder the simple natives of these islands, when they first saw the white sails and white crew of Columbus, should have supposed that he might have come sailing into that crystal ocean from its sister element, the sky.

The harbour of Havana is a wide, deep basin, with a narrow channel or neck opening into the sea. The basin is not the outlet of a river, and therefore is not liable to have bars formed at its mouth. The neck is commanded by strong forts on each side; and on the east side by a precipitous hill crowned by a castle, called the Morro. The houses here are always flat-roofed, that they may be less exposed to hurricanes; as, in Quebec, they have steep slanting roofs, that the snow may slide off them. They are often of but one story high, a circumstance which gives the greater prominence to the principal buildings of the city. The windows never have glass sashes; but, outside, have prison-like iron bars, which, admitting the breezes, exclude less welcome intrusion. Inside there are shutters. At the top of these shutters is sometimes one small glass pane, with a sort of little eupboard door over it, which, were it open and the shutters shut, would give light to the room, but not enable the inmates to see anything, out of the house, lower than a bird on the wing; so rarely in that climate must there be occasion to exclude the outward air. The streets are narrow, but clean. The names of the shopkeepers, instead of being painted over their doors, are inserted into long narrow flags, which are stretched across the street from side to side by cords and pulleys. This succession of gay draperies above your head has a pleasing, but very foreign effect, and casts upon your sunny path frequent stripes of shade. Some of the fine old-fashioned houses have in front a Moorish archway, within which are large folding gates, opening upon an entrance hall, beyond which is another Moorish archway of a different shape, with other gates opening into an arched cloister bounding the four sides of a courtyard in the centre of the building; while in the middle of this courtyard there is a fountain. In such buildings the perspective is very imposing. I had never previously, except in drawings, seen anything resembling these arches. Their designs might have been copied from the halls of the Alhambra by the grandsons of those chivalrous warriors of the best days of Spain, who strove to suppress the signs of their exultation, when, on the 2nd of January, 1492, the exiled Bobadil delivered to King Ferdinand the keys of the palace, which had been that of his ancestors, and until then was his. The principal sitting-rooms in these houses have windows, opening on the one side into the street, and on the other into the courtyard, to give a thorough draught; and, as the morning advances, an awning at the top of the house is drawn over the courtyard to exclude the sun.

As I was one day walking through the streets of Havana, I saw, in a sitting-room on the ground-floor of a handsome house, what appeared to

be a beautiful wax-work figure, of which the face only was exposed to view. The figure was stretched on what seemed a table, and was covered by a large case made of panes of glass, and having a pine-apple-shaped top. At the foot of the figure were some immense candlesticks with lighted candles in them. In the room was a gentleman in black, with clothes cut in the ordinary European shape, walking up and down, and smoking a cigar. The window-shutters were open, so that it was impossible to pass along the street without seeing the whole spectacle. I asked in French a gentleman at the door of the house what it was. He answered, "Une dame qui est morte."

The face beneath that frame-work was the fairest face that I had seen in Cuba. In its calm sweetness it realised the description of that corse, to which Byron compares Greece, whose soul had passed away, while its beauty remained:

He who hath bent him o'er the dead,  
Ere the first day of death is fled  
(Before decay's effacing fingers  
Have swept the lines where beauty lingers),  
And mark'd the mild, angelic air,  
The rapture of repose that's there,  
The fix'd yet tender traits that streak  
The languor of the placid cheek ;  
And—but for that sad, shrouded eye,  
That fires not, wins not, weeps not now,  
And, but for that chill, changeless brow,  
Some moments, ay, one treacherous hour,  
He still might doubt the tyrant's power ;  
So fair, so calm, so softly seal'd  
The first, last look by death reveal'd !

On two of its sides the city of Havana is enclosed by *boulevards*, where are carriage-roads and footpaths, kept in the best order, shaded by avenues of royal palm-trees, and bordered with evergreen and often ever-flowering shrubs. In these *boulevards*, in the cool of the evening, the beaux and belles often take a drive in their *volantes*. A *volante* something resembles a gig, but has wheels of immense diameter ; and its single horse, which is laden with silver trappings, and has a plaited tail tied to the saddle, is ridden postilion by a negro in the gayest livery. In the garden of the Plaza de Armas, a public square, in which the official residence of the Captain-General, or Governor, of Cuba is situated, excellent music was played in the evening by a military band ; and, during the music, it is a place of much resort.

The Tacon Theatre, built in a *faubourg* just without the *boulevards*, and called after the captain-general by whose order it was erected, is the largest and handsomest theatre in the New World ; and here, on Sunday evenings, are sometimes excellent Italian operas, and sometimes masquerades. Cock-fights, "riñas de gallos" (which our transatlantic cousins, with a want of precision which I am at a loss to account for, have been pleased to call "chicken fights"), form no uncommon amusement with the *Habaneros* on a Sunday morning.

"The Bishop's Garden," two or three miles from Havana, was open to the public ; and though his palace within it has been reduced to a ruin, either by a hurricane or a fire (I have forgotten which), the grounds were



kept in pretty good order. In that climate the fruit-trees seemed to be puzzled by the seasons; but it would appear that they had for the most part come to the conclusion that it was safest to produce "the fruits of autumn and the flowers of spring," in admirable confusion and profusion, all the year round. The pomegranate was amongst the shrubs, which, when I was in Cuba, offered you, from the same bough, the ripe fruit and the flower. The shrubs and trees were very beautiful. An avenue of mango-trees in the Bishop's Garden afforded, beneath their glossy, deep evergreen leaves, a cool, shady retreat from the scorching, glaring sun. But amongst the flowers in the beds I did not see much that we in England could envy, as sunflowers and roses—either the same, or very like some of those in our gardens—seemed to predominate.

The palm, rising from the earth with its white column, and, at its very summit, rolling over, like a green fountain, its leafy capital; the cocoa-nut tree, with its boll not quite so straight and regular, but displaying to you, in compensation, pendant from its green crown, its agreeable fruit, the milk within which, though the outer shell has been basking in the sun, is as cold as if it had been taken out of an ice-house; the banana and the platano, which much resemble each other, rearing their straight poles to the height of about ten feet, and having at their top a long rich cluster of fruit, together with large leaves that turn over and hang down like so many green fans, the sticks composing which have come apart; impenetrable hedges, formed of a sort of sharp-pointed aloe, called, I believe, *saporel*, and often tangled with flowering creepers; and whole fields in which pine-apples grow as thick as turnips with us,—these are some of the peculiarities that characterise the rural scenery near Havana.

I was sitting under one of a row of palms by a stream, near the Bishop's Garden, ruminating on the prospect, wondering whether the pre-adamite creation resembled that of the tropics, and fancying that I had seen resemblances in the fossils of the slate and coal formations to the vegetation around me, when I was startled from my reverie by a palm-leaf falling at my feet. So long, so thick, and so heavy was this branch-like leaf, and so great was the height from which it fell, that, had it lighted upon me, it would probably have done me a serious injury.

At Cuba, I had only one introduction of the slightest value. When I was at Havana, the English consul, Mr. Crawford, was absent; but through the friendliness of his brother, I had been provided with a letter of introduction to the consul of the United States,\* General Campbell. Under such circumstances it was particularly gratifying to me to be received and treated by the American consul and his accomplished family with the kindness which they showed me.

At Cuba, Columbus first saw the red men smoke cigars, to which they gave the name of tobacco; and, with their lands, the white men have inherited one remarkable trait of their predecessors, for the Cubans smoke after every meal, and indeed almost all day long. This, either from the nature of the climate, or from living, even when in the house, exposed

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\* The government of the United States is in America often called by the cant phrase of "Uncle Sam," from, I am told, the initial letters of United States and Uncle Sam being the same.

to the open air, whoever stays in Cuba can do with impunity. When I wanted some cigars I asked General Campbell from whom he could recommend me to buy them. He mentioned Ugues as a person of remarkable integrity, and one in whose manufactory nothing but the best tobacco was used. Smokers may have a curiosity to know what in Cuba I paid for his cigars. I paid, then, four dollars a hundred for large cigars of the regalia size, and a dollar and a quarter a hundred for cigars of the size most commonly smoked in London. Both were made of the same tobacco; but the former were not only larger, but were twisted with greater smoothness, so as to make them look, but not smoke, better.

Amongst the charms of Havana were the baths cut out, in little chambers, in the coral reefs, upon which the portion of the city, facing the sea, is built. You cannot bathe in the open sea, or you would be devoured by sharks; but these baths are close to the sea, and have loopholes cut in the rock, opening into it; so that each wave which breaks against the shore enters them. Sheds are erected over these baths, and you pay a small piece of silver money for the privilege of using a bath. There is here a rise and fall of the tide of about two feet only. I used to go early every morning to these baths.

From Havana I went by railroad half a day's journey to the village of Guinness, on the opposite side of the island, in order to see some coffee and sugar plantations; and I found several of my countrymen on the train filling the office of enginemen. All that I saw of Cuba, that was cultivated at all, was cultivated carefully; and artificial irrigation was there much practised.

Whilst I was at Guinness, an advertisement of a bull-fight in the town at the opposite side of the harbour to Havana, appeared in the newspapers. It was to take place on the afternoon of the following day; so, on the following morning, I returned to Havana that I might not lose the only opportunity that I might ever have of seeing the celebrated national amusement of the Spaniards. The reader may have seen the Coliseum, or may be acquainted with the description of it in *Corinne*: "Ce superbe édifice servit d'arène aux gladiateurs combattant contre les bêtes féroces. C'est ainsi qu'on amusait et trompait le peuple Romain par des émotions fortes, alors que les sentiments naturels ne pouvaient plus avoir l'essor. L'on entrait par deux portes dans le Colysée: l'une qui était consacrée aux vainqueurs, l'autre par laquelle on emportait les morts. Singulier mépris pour l'espèce humaine que de destiner d'avance la mort ou la vie de l'homme au simple passe-temps d'un spectacle. Titus, le meilleur des empereurs, dédia ce Colysée au peuple Romain." And the wooden amphitheatre, the *plaza de toros*, situated some mile or mile and a half from Havana, was just such a building as in the days of Titus might have been erected as the provincial Coliseum of some remote city of the Roman empire. The amphitheatre was open to the heaven; and the tiers of seats were protected from the infuriated bull by being raised a considerable height above the arena. There were three gates leading into the arena; through one of these, over which appeared a royal banner and a military band, the champions on horseback entered; through another the live bulls entered; and through the third the dead bulls and dead horses were dragged; and, probably, had any of the men in the bull-fight been "butchered to make a" Cuban "holiday," they would have been carried



off through the same. On this occasion, a strong wooden cage, as big as a room, had been fixed in the centre of the arena; and, to diversify the amusement of the day, a bull and a tiger were introduced into it that they might fight; but, having approached each other, they seemed soon to come to an understanding, that it should not be their own faults if they were killed for the public amusement; and, declining the combat, they drew off to opposite corners of the cage. The ladies of Cuba, unlike their sisters of Spain, have now discontinued attending bull-fights: and, from my own experience of the intense all-absorbing interest which the spectator feels in these exhibitions, I will add that it is an instance of self-denial for which they deserve no little credit. Would you recal the sensations with which, at your first play, you watched the clashing of the swords of the actors, whose combat and whose danger seemed to your experience to have something of reality? If so, attend a bull-fight. True, it is a cruel pastime. It may make you feel faint or sick to read or to hear its details, but not to see them. Your blood will be too hot, your heart will beat too quick for that. Sick or faint! who ever was sick or faint when the trumpet sounded for the charge of cavalry, though the dead and the dying were heaped around him!

Well, here, too, the trumpet sounds; the gate of one of the entrances—it is the *toril*—is thrown open, and the devoted bull advances through that gate, by which, for him, there is no return. Already the *picador*, mounted and gorgeously attired, and protected as to his right leg with a sort of iron jack-boot, is in the arena. He bears a lance not armed with a spear, but a goad; and is sitting on a worn-out hack, the eyes of which are covered, that he may the more willingly obey the bridle. He has been endeavouring to make poor Rosinante curvet—poor Rosinante, whose long services to the human race deserve an easier, if not a later, death than that with which he is threatened! Should the bull be eager for the combat, the *picador* couches his lance, and hastens to meet him. It is his object to strike the lance into the shoulder of the bull as he makes his charge, and by main force to push back or turn him, so as to prevent him from closing upon the horse. Sometimes, however, the bull catches the horse with his horns in the belly, and lifts both horse and man in the air, or throws both together on the ground; and then pedestrian bull-fighters rush forward, and, shaking their bright cloaks in his face, endeavour to draw him away from his victims. On one occasion, when the bull had made a successful charge, the spectators called out to the rider to look at his horse. He turned round and rode out of the arena, the poor animal being in a state which I have too much consideration for the reader to describe. If the bull is not disposed to “show fight,” he is rendered furious by barbed darts, sometimes with little flags, and sometimes with lighted crackers at their upper end, which are dexterously thrown and stuck into his neck. These darts are called *banderillas*. If the bull is “game,” these darts are not thrown at him at first, and, indeed, the darts with crackers are not used at all. When the *picador* has had some encounters, the *banderilleros*, in smart and tight fancy dresses with short jackets, and bearing in the one hand a *banderilla*, and in the other a cloak, play their part on foot. They shake their cloaks in the bull’s eyes, and then, when he rushes at them, they, just as he is upon them, trip on one side, and

insult his failure by sticking a dart into his neck as he passes. When they are very hard pressed, they run into one of several little passages which are made by putting up a few strong boards, so near the side of the arena, that there is just room for a man to enter. The most extraordinary circumstance in the sport, and that which demonstrates what an intensity of interest it must create, is that, when the bull makes a successful charge, the whole amphitheatre resounds just as much with the cry of "*Toro! toro!*" as it does with the appropriate language of applause, when the *picador* has gallantly charged him with his lance, or the *banderillero* has skilfully added another javelin to those on his mane, or the *matador* struck with unerring eye and hand the fatal stroke. Last enters the scene the messenger of death, the *matador*. He is armed with a two-edged sword, that rather resembles an old Roman sword, and has a cloak slung over his left arm. The bull is now nearly exhausted by fatigue and by loss of blood. But shall he expire, and unrevenged? He makes a last exertion, and strives, with a staggering foot, to rush at the *matador*. But the *matador*, stepping on one side, holds out to him with his left hand his cloak, while, with his right, as the bull is passing him, he plunges his sword through his chest, just between the shoulder-bone and the ribs, down to his heart, when—*procumbit humi bos*—a dead weight sinks upon the ground. Some half-naked negroes then enter the arena, and drag the body through the gate of the dead. A little sand is sprinkled over his blood; the band strikes up a tune; after which a lancer on a fresh horse, and a fresh bull, enter the lists. On the occasion on which I was present, four bulls and two horses were killed.

In Cuba, I understand, the public celebration of no religion but that of Rome is allowed. The cathedral at Havana had exquisite music, but the tunes and the instrumental performance more resembled those of an opera than did any which I had previously heard in a place of worship. Indeed, within the choir was a band, with violins and all kinds of musical instruments. It was generally, perhaps always, open\* in the day, and was a sweet and cool retreat. But the object of most attraction there is contained in a niche in the wall of the chancel; for here, behind a mural monument, comprising a bust of Columbus, a sepulchral urn contains his honoured dust. The inscription on the monument, being translated, is as follows: "Oh, remains and image of the great Columbus, may you rest a thousand ages guarded in the urn and in the remembrance of our nation!"†

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\* In such places an Englishman must sometimes contrast with pain the conduct of the Church of Rome with that of some of the rulers of his own national Church. In the abbey church at Bath there is, or was, two or three years ago, service on some of the week days; but on these occasions the west entrance, with the nave, was shut up, and you approached the choir, where service was performed, by a little side-door at the east, missing altogether the part of the church which had grand proportions. If you wanted to see that, you had to find out the pew-opener, and pay her for turning the key of a door. Surely our ancestors erected such magnificent edifices under the impression that the mind of the worshipper might be elevated—that it might be better prepared to approach the throne of God by his passing through such a vestibule; and they never could have contemplated that a time would come when, just before and after service, it would be turned by the clergyman and churchwardens into a sixpenny peepshow.

† O restos e imagen del grande Colon, mil siglos durad guardados en la urna y en la remembrancia de nuestra nacion!



The relics of Columbus have been almost as frequently moved as those of St. Cuthbert, who also had (if monkish chronicles are to be believed), though in a different sense,

Pointed to other worlds, and led the way.

The body of Columbus, which had been buried and reburied in Spain, was removed to the island of St. Domingo; and, hence, was at length collected in an urn, and carried to Cuba, all that remained of the first conqueror, legislator, and missionary, whose exploits the great ocean did not bound. The name of Columbus is by the Spaniards written Colon. The inscription on his first tomb—that at Valladolid—is literally translated in the following couplet:

To Castille and Leon  
A new world gave Colon.\*

Had this inscription been repeated, it would have seemed to reproach the Spaniards of the present day with the advantages which they have lost; for, of this vast gift, the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico are all that they retain.

These islands used to be regarded politically as integral parts of Spain; and, as such, sent representatives to the Spanish cortes. And, though the privileges of these islands (which may be presumed never to have comprised sufficient guarantees for liberty) have in some respects been curtailed, they, for some purposes, and especially those of taxation, are still treated as portions of the mother country. The taxes of Cuba contribute a most important proportion of the Spanish revenue. Hence, quite independently of all general considerations of the balance of power, any nation, whose private capitalists have advanced loans to the Spanish government on the security of its revenue, is bound, in justice to its own citizens, to endeavour, while such debts remain unpaid, to prevent Cuba from being wrested from Spain by foreign invasion. At the time of the recent sad and ill-advised expeditions of General Lopez, some of the United States newspapers, which supported the adventurers and the annexation of Cuba to the Union as the consequence of their enterprise, maintained that England would eventually attempt to appropriate it, if the United States did not anticipate her. Never was there a greater mistake. Why, England would not accept Cuba at a gift: for she is pledged to herself and to the world to possess no more slave-holding colonies; she never interferes with vested rights without giving compensation; and her people are not prepared to pay another 20,000,000*l.* sterling to purchase the freedom of the slaves of the Cubans. The taxes paid by Cuba to the Spanish treasury are an immense annual drain upon her resources. Still, however, she continues rich, and her planters rival in their wealth the opulent nobility of the old world. Their fields produce more than one crop of Indian corn in the year; and the sugar-cane, which in Louisiana

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\* A Castillo y a Leon  
Nuevo mundo dio Colon.

Another version of the same original epitaph is:

Por Castilla y por Leon  
Nuevo mundo hallo Colon.

Though no Spanish scholar, I have ventured to select the former as the neater of the two.

has to be planted every two or three years, continues in Cuba to yield crops for a long succession of years (I think for ten or twelve), from the same root. Cuba has no paper money, no copper currency that I ever saw, and no banks. Indeed, I was assured that the jealousy entertained by Spain of all sorts of meetings would prevent the establishment of such an institution as a joint stock bank in the island.

The Spaniards speak of the native Cuban colonists as being ignorant and degenerate, and frequently tainted with Indian and African blood. But this, we must recollect, is a description of a people given by those who have injured them, and who want an excuse for having deprived them of all the public offices of trust, honour, and emolument in their own island. The bureaucratic insolence of the Spanish stranger is felt from one end of Cuba to the other; and in the necessary intercourse with the authorities on the subject of passports—and you cannot move without one prescribing your route—the traveller observes more than the usual amount of that low swagger and lounging indifference which often characterise the dregs of official life.

The Cuban slave has one peculiar and valuable privilege, which should tend to make his master indulgent and himself industrious. If he wishes to change his master, and can get any one else to give for him a certain sum fixed by law, he can, on application to a public officer, compel his master to sell him to the purchaser that he has interested in his behalf. That this law is not a dead letter, I know; for an innkeeper at Guinness—a Mrs. Lawrence, from Boston in Massachusetts—told me that, much to her regret, she had through its operation been obliged to part with a valuable slave. On Sunday, it is a strange sight to a European, on walking through some of the back streets of Havana, to see, through the open windows of small houses of entertainment kept exclusively for them, negroes in fantastic groups; some dancing, while others are playing instruments; and all apparently as merry and thoughtless as young children just escaped from their task at school for a holiday.

Their dances and their instruments were African. Sometimes they knew them only through the traditions of their parents, but often, alas! they themselves had danced them and played them in Africa; and occasionally, it is probable, even within a few months of the day on which I was present at their performance. It was quite notorious—I was told it over and over again—that, on the payment to the captain-general of a fixed proportionate sum, a Cuban might import as many African slaves as a slaver could contrive to run upon the coast, notwithstanding that ever since 1821 their importation had been forbidden by law and by treaty. I am sorry that I did not at the time write down the amount of bribe which had to be paid for the introduction of each slave. I believe it was two doubloons, and a doubloon is worth sixteen dollars, or about £3 5s. of English money. It is just possible that the sum mentioned to me may have been three doubloons—and I am willing that the captain-general should have the advantage of the doubt—and, if it were so, I have done the injustice of rating the price of the honour and honesty of the highest Spanish official at Cuba between £3 and £4 lower than its common market price. In estimating, however, a man's conduct, one must not omit entirely from consideration the standard of the class and country to which he may belong. You would not have hoped for the



same grace in the inhabitant of Memphis, who had been taught that in the river the crocodile, and in the air the beetle, presented fitting objects of worship, that you would have required in his Athenian contemporary, whose wont long had been, at the shrine of Delphi,

To "view the Lord of the unerring bow,  
The God of life, and poetry, and light—  
The Sun in human limbs array'd, and brow  
All radiant from his triumph in the fight ;"

and at the Temple of Cyprus, to wreath, with votive myrtle,

The shrinking "statue that enchants the world."

And it would, perhaps, have been unfair to have expected that the common amount of integrity of a gentleman of the United States, or of England, should have been found in the Conde de Alcoy. Still let us hope that the change, which has since taken place, may have been for the better ; as he has recently been superseded.

It is a more profitable speculation, where it is practicable, to import than breed slaves ; hence, in Cuba, few women are imported in proportion to the men, and successive generations of negroes are "used up" and replaced by others from Africa. The continuance of the slave-trade is opposed to the principles of the northern and southern portions of the United States, and to the pecuniary interests of their southern planters. The planter of the Union does not increase his stock of slaves by importation, but his Cuban and Brazilian rivals do ; therefore they can raise produce like his by cheaper labour.

A letter, dated 2nd of May, 1850, was written to me by an able friend, living in a British colony, in which, to a commission for the suppression of the slave trade, he fills a judicial situation ; and I will make a quotation from it : merely adding, that, as it was only a few weeks before the first of these two chapters on North America was published that I determined upon writing upon that subject at all, I have not had time to obtain the permission of my correspondent to make use of his letter ; but that, as my object is to give the matter to which he alludes some slight additional chance of falling under the eye of the philanthropic politicians of the United States, I trust he will forgive the liberty. The letter says, "No country is more severe upon slave-trading than the United States, when she fairly catches her subjects in the act ; but, unfortunately, the American flag is much prostituted in the provision of slaves to Brazil and Cuba by means of United States vessels, which are really sold to Brazilians, but go to the coast of Africa under United States colours, by which means they avoid the search of our ships (as America never would give us a right of search) until our cruisers are out of the way, when slaves are popped on board, the Brazilian flag hoisted, or none at all, and the venture fairly off towards Brazil or the Spanish colonies, as the case may be. This iniquitous state of things, unworthy of the Americans in every way, has been alluded to by the president in his address to congress. I am sorry to say our commission has had many opportunities of attesting the fact. Two cases were particularly iniquitous. They occurred on the east coast of Africa, and were those of the American vessels the *Kentucky* and the *Porpoise*."

Understanding from some of my late fellow-passengers, citizens of the

United States, that they had received letters from home, informing them that General Lopez was likely to land an invading force on the island in a few days, and being anxious, in consequence of my ignorance of Spanish, to leave before any confusion occurred, I embarked at Havana for New Orleans in a sailing-vessel called the *Adams Gray*, and arrived at my destination not many days before Lopez and his companions did at theirs.

In Cuba there is an export duty on tobacco; but, as I took away with me only a few boxes containing 800 cigars, the custom-house officers said that they should not exact it. At New Orleans, however, my cigars were taken to the custom-house; and it cost me two hours' time and forty per cent. duty, to get them through it. At all the ports of the United States that I entered, the passengers' luggage is examined by the custom-house officers on board the vessel which brings you, instead of being, as it is with us—to the great loss of time of the passenger—most unnecessarily, and therefore most improperly, taken to the custom-house to be overhauled. It is some years since I have landed at the port of London. When I last, however, had the misfortune to have my trunk and carpet-bag in its custom-house, I observed that after the examination was done, a sort of porter, who had been watching for us in the custom-house, came up to the different passengers and asked them whether they wanted a hackney-coach; then, having brought it to the door, he proceeded much in this fashion, "M'am, allow me to take your work-bag; pray, m'am, let me carry that cloak; sir, your umbrella and stick, if you please." But when, under the escort of this civil porter, you arrived at the coach-door, you found that he had not only a specific charge for calling the coach, but also a separate authorised demand of so many pence for every separate article which he had carried. It might have been thought that as passengers' luggage had not been carried into the custom-house for their own gratification, it would have been carried out of it without putting them to expense. I should like to know how much, and to whom, these civil porters paid for permission to wait in the rooms of the custom-house. Can government have allowed this miserable pettiness to continue last year, and disgrace us before the world?

But let us return to New Orleans. Though the northern people, bringing with them their English names, are greatly increasing in numbers at New Orleans, and though there is an immense amount of English capital invested in this city, and many English merchants and clerks residing there, and even some London shopkeepers having branches of their establishments, yet all the older parts of the city are unmistakeably French. Here the inscriptions over the shops are in the French language, and, in it, the actors perform and the Church of Rome preaches.

An Englishman is accustomed to see ships; the great amount of shipping, therefore, at the lower end of the crescent sweep of the river, upon which the city is built, has for him none of the interest of novelty; but, proceeding upward on the "levee," or artificial bank protecting the land from the river, he arrives at such a sight as has never been seen elsewhere than at New Orleans. Here he finds I should think at least two miles, and perhaps more, of wharfage quite filled with a continuous line of nothing but immense river-steamboats. Nor is that surprising, when it is considered that the Mississippi and its tributaries, and the tributaries again which fall into them, have been calculated to afford a freshwater



steam-navigation of 16,674 miles in extent; that the country which they water comprises the most fertile soil in the world; and that the race inhabiting it has often shown, in portions both of New and Old England, that it had energy to make the least fertile productive, or, if at length it should be found unprofitable to plough the land, would plough the sea instead, and reap from that its golden harvest. With the increase of the population each year, there must be an increased development of the boundless resources of the mighty west. But is New Orleans likely to retain her relative importance? Will she still continue to receive consignments from every land from which the Mississippi obtains waters? Probably not; for last spring was nearly completed, and perhaps may now be quite, a line of railroad connecting the upper part of the Ohio river with New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, all Atlantic ports; and, as canal and railroad communications increase, the "western waters" must be "tapped," and cheap and rapid communications must be made uniting some of the cities of the Ohio with Richmond on the James's river, and some of the cities of the Mississippi with Charleston; both of which communicate with the Atlantic Ocean. The distance from New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico is considerable, and the navigation tedious and winding. Several vessels are generally towed up to New Orleans together by a steamer; but, under any circumstances, the ascent of the river is a great increase of expense. For this reason, and because the Atlantic cities are far nearer Europe, much of the western commerce is likely to be eventually transferred from New Orleans to the "Atlantic cities." The "crescent city" is, I think, the dearest place that I ever was in; and money seems here to be made and squandered with the greatest rapidity. Here, as indeed in some other portions of the Southern States, you see no copper-money in circulation; the only place at which it is the custom to receive or pay it being the Post Office.

In England, from the circumstances of our population, there are two words, which, though not strange in sound, do not for the most part convey to us very definite ideas. It is not improbable that, if a party of English persons were suddenly asked to give a synonyme for the word "creole," some of them would answer "quadroon"—a mistake for which I can assure them they would not very readily be pardoned by an individual properly comprised under the former appellation, whatever they might be that under the latter. But both creoles and quadroons are abundant in New Orleans. I conceive the term quadroon, defined with precision, to mean that variety of the human race which is born from the union of a white father with a mother who was the child of a white man and an unmixed negress. But I think in the United States it is commonly applied to all those mixed descendants of the African and European races, in which the complexion more nearly approaches that of the white than that of the black ancestors. In Tchudi's Travels in Peru, a German work, of which an English translation has been published in the United States, is to be found a distinct Spanish name for almost every possible cross of the European, African, and American-Indian races amongst each other. In all of the slave-holding states of the Union, a white person is prohibited by law from intermarrying with any one, whether free or slave, who has "coloured blood." And, in the non-slave-holding states, almost as strong an interdiction to such an alliance is placed by public

custom and opinion. Nowhere, I believe, throughout the United States, would "a coloured person" be permitted to sit down at a *table-d'hôte* together with those of the white race. And the effect of a single cross is visible to the experienced eye of a native for remote generations. To us, in a country inhabited by a race exclusively Caucasian, these laws and customs, at the first view, appear unreasonably hard; yet I presume that there they are desirable or necessary, in order to procure a most important result—namely, the maintenance of the purity of the white race.\* But neither law nor custom inexorably prohibits an inter-marriage with those of Indian descent. The blood of the Princess Pocahuntas, whose warm, generous heart has long since mouldered in British soil, is still respected in the veins of some of the gentry of Virginia.†

The story of Pocahuntas is a beautiful episode in the heroic period of American history. Shortly after the commencement of the seventeenth century, Captain Smith, the most able and enterprising of the settlers in the new colony of Virginia, had been taken prisoner by the Indians, and was sentenced by their emperor, Powhatan, to have his brains dashed out; when the favourite daughter of the monarch, the young Pocahuntas, whose tears had been unable to move the stern resolve of her father, rushing to the spot of execution, laid her own head between the head of the prostrate victim and the upraised clubs of the executioners. It was too much: the father yielded. Pocahuntas afterwards was converted to Christianity, and married to an English gentleman of the name of Rolfe, who was one of the colonists. She then visited England, where she was received with distinction; and, as she was preparing to return to her native country, died at Gravesend.

Gentle spirit! who can tell when shall end the influence of thy deed of mercy? Already, for two centuries, have the severe laws, which forbid the amalgamation of the distinct varieties of the human race, been relaxed for thee! Already, for two centuries, when the rifle of the white man has covered the naked breast of an Indian foe, oft, at the remembrance of thy sweet story, has its point been turned harmless to the ground!

But it is now time to inquire what means a creole in New Orleans. I had some notion that it might there mean a very pretty woman. In my faith, however, in this interpretation of the word, I was soon a good deal shaken; not (as every reader who has been at New Orleans will readily believe) by hearing the term applied to a lady who was otherwise, but by seeing on a barn-door the words "creole hay," and on the breakfast bill of fare at the St. Charles's hotel the words "creole eggs." In

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\* M. de Beaumont, the travelling companion in America of M. de Tocqueville, author of "*Démocratie en Amérique*," does not appear to have valued or seen this. His novel, "*Marie ou l'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis*," in which he appears to have aimed at doing for the United States that which Madame de Staël, in her "*Corinne*," has done for Italy, contains observations on society often acute, delicate, and subtle—what the French call *fin*—but does not show the mind of a statesman or philosopher. It indicates the possession of perceptive, rather than of reflective, powers.

† Yet I am assured, by those who have lived in Central America, that, in some of the nations there, a cross of African is considered less discreditable than a cross of Indian blood. So unfixed on some subjects are the foundations of public opinion.



my perplexity, I applied, on the latter occasion, to the Irish waiter who was standing behind my chair, to know what "creole eggs" were. And he answered me as glibly as possible, "Boiled eggs, please your honor. 'Creole' means boiled." But it could not well bear that meaning, I thought, when applied to hay, let alone ladies; so I made further inquiries. The result was the information that creole is, by interpretation, "native;" that, when applied in the United States to persons, it implies that they were of pure white descent, though not necessarily sprung from any particular state or nation, and that they had been born either in Louisiana or Florida; which states, in the early part of this century, were acquired,—the one from France, and the other from Spain.\*

I learnt, also, that when applied to hay, it meant that made in the neighbourhood, and which consequently had not run the risk of getting wet in a voyage; and that when applied to eggs, it meant such as were the produce of the surrounding poultry-yards, and might, therefore, be fresh; whereas, those which were imported, and not "creole," could not be so. I will not conclude this philological disquisition without adding that the creole ladies of New Orleans are considered to be distinguished for grace and beauty of person, and taste and simplicity of dress.

As the reader, however unwilling he might have been to leave the creoles themselves, will have no objection by this time to leave the discussion of them, we will, with his permission, proceed together to Mobile.†

New Orleans is built on a narrow slip of land of five or six miles in width, pressed on the one side by the Mississippi and on the other by Lake Pontchartrain, which opens into Lake Bourne, an arm of the Gulf of Mexico. A half hour's afternoon ride on a railway takes you from New Orleans to Lake Pontchartrain, whence, by the next morning, a steamer will have transported you to Mobile, in the state, and on the river, of Alabama, and in the immediate vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico.

I shall always recollect with pleasure a drive which one of my countrymen, a gentleman long settled, and much respected, at Mobile, took me to the Magnolia Grove, some five or six miles off. It consists of two or three acres of magnolia-grandifloræ, growing to the size that oaks with us attain in about seventy years. On the one side of this is the Gulf, on the other a forest, principally of pines.

In a letter dated from Mobile, 28th of January, 1851, which a friend has lent me to refresh my memory, I find that I have made a few observations which I will copy: "I was at the St. Charles' Hotel (New Orleans) when the fire occurred. I sent you a newspaper with an account of it. The woods in this neighbourhood ('section of country' is the common American phrase) are principally composed of evergreen trees. In them the magnolia, the live oak, and the pitch-pine strive for the mastery. The boll of a magnolia in one of the native woods here I measured, and found that, about four feet from the ground, it was ten feet and three-quarters in circumference. The pine here has a very long leaf, and the wood is of a reddish colour. It is used by the French and Spaniards

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\* *Créole* is a French word: the corresponding Spanish word is *criollo*.

† I took this route from New Orleans when I was leaving it the following winter; but on my return from Cuba I ascended the Mississippi, as is mentioned in the previous part.

for the masts of ships; and the Indian women (who alone of the Indians work) bring it into the town on their backs, split up into small pieces, and sell it to light fires with. From the quantity of pitch in it, it burns like a candle. The live oak is an evergreen, which, in leaf and general appearance, something resembles the holm-oak with us. The wood is very valuable for ship-building. By-the-by, the finest holm-oaks which I recollect having seen are in the garden of the rectory at Sedgefield. They were planted by the celebrated Bishop Louth, when he was there as rector. I shall shortly start for Charleston, South Carolina."

It may have been observed that, at the commencement of the foregoing extract, the sending of a newspaper was mentioned. This newspaper was very likely the New Orleans *Picayune*, which is so called from the name, at New Orleans, of the piece of Spanish money charged\* for it, as the *Gazetta*, a single sheet published in Venice in the sixteenth century (whence our *Gazette*), was called from the name of a coin there, worth about an English halfpenny, for which it was sold. In the United States the Spanish silver money is as common as that from their own national mints. The Spanish half medio, the lowest Spanish coin in common currency there, is a small piece of silver, of which sixteen make a dollar, and which is worth, therefore, six and a quarter cents. It is in New Orleans called a picayune (possibly from the Italian *piccino*, small, and the French *un*, one); in New York it is called a sixpence, and in Boston a fourpence. The price of a London daily newspaper is, in United States money, ten cents; and though the London publisher has to pay a stamp duty and a duty on paper, which the New Orleans publisher escapes, yet, considering that the newspapers issued by the former is, on an average, more than twice the size of that issued by the latter, the London newspaper is the cheaper of the two.

*Mais revenons à nos moutons.* In order to get from Mobile to Charleston, you ascend the Alabama in a steamboat as far as the city of Montgomery. Thence you might proceed, when I was there, nearly all the way—and, probably, now, all the way—by railroad. But if you should wish to see something more of the principal cities of Georgia than you would have an opportunity of doing by that route (and they are worth seeing), you should first go to the young, handsome, and rapidly rising city of Macon, and thence proceed by railroad to Savannah, which is a seaport, and is the chief commercial city of the rapidly improving state of Georgia.

Excepting Boston (where there is a handsome park, modestly called the common), every city, I believe, and every village, throughout the Union, is adorned, in a great proportion of its streets, with avenues of trees; but no other city, that I ever visited in any part of the world, is so beautifully planted, in its streets and squares, as Savannah. Here the trees are principally evergreen; and in the streets the magnolia and live oak grow side by side. The magnolia is found gradually to dwindle as you proceed north; but as far north as Virginia you may see it, in pleasure grounds, of the size of an oak of forty years' old with us.

A single night's voyage in a mail steamer will take you from Savannah to Charleston.

Though the traveller may miss the daisy from the meadow and the

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\* The leading newspapers of Washington—the *National Intelligencer*, the *Union*, and the *Republic*—are ably and honourably conducted, and cost six cents each. The *New York Herald*, remarkable for early information, costs two cents.



nightingale from the grove, he must have been unfortunate or unobservant in the American domestic circles in which he has been introduced, if he has never found ample consolation for their absence, in that modesty and melody of which the flower and the bird are the appropriate emblems. Still, in their woods, the Americans have no feathered nightingales. With this knowledge, when Mademoiselle Jenny Lind was expected in Virginia, I scribbled a few verses; and I will just give a touch to the first and the last verses, in order to make them run more smoothly; and then, with apologies, transcribe them :

A WELCOME TO RICHMOND, IN VIRGINIA, FOR THE SWEDISH NIGHTINGALE.

What! if warm be the hearts, or if bright be the flowers,  
 In the Richmond reflected in calm-flowing Thames ;  
 Warm hearts too are ours, and beautiful bowers,  
 In the Richmond that greets thee where gushes the James  
 Here's thy own fitting arbour, thy sweet myrtle bough ;  
 Here the yet virgin rosebud for thee is array'd ;  
 She had listened till now to no nightingale's vow,  
 But had deem'd that unlov'd on her stalk she must fade  
 Here from rich Alabama, from Florida fair,  
 For thy welcome hath stray'd the magnolia tree ;  
 And the storms of the air each sweet chalice yet spare,  
 That bears in pure dew a fit offering for thee.

When I commenced writing on America, I intended to dismiss my subject, immense as it was, in a single article ; but, as I went on, I discovered that, in spite of me, my matter would expand into two. And now that, near the end of January, I have produced an article already of reasonable length, and have a head and hand that ache with writing, I find that much that I might say remains untold. The patience of the reader, however, shall no longer be trespassed upon by details. But I will conclude with a few observations on the United States, in regard to the appearance of the country, the prospect of the emigrant, the character of the native, and the nature of the government ; and then drop my pen, trusting that any reader, who on either side of the Atlantic may chance to look at these articles, will excuse such faults\* as haste or any other cause, except design (for of faults arising from that cause I have none), may have produced.

What, then, exclusive of their obvious difference in extent of territory, are some of the striking points of physical dissimilitude to England in the country comprised under the great American Union? The rude wooden fences of various forms, sometimes Vandyked, sometimes straight ; the entire absence of hawthorn hedges, to which one of the insects of America has been found fatal ; the country-houses and the watering-place hotels, often imposing from their size and pillared pediments, yet

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\* I find that in my first article I have made two errors—one in the text, the other in a note. The former is that I confounded Mr. Isaac P. Walker, who is, and was, when I was at Washington, one of the senators from the state of Wisconsin, with Mr. R. J. Walker, who is now in England, and was formerly Secretary of the Treasury, to a government composed of the democratic party. The latter error is that I stated the annual allowance of the President of the United States to have been 20,000 dollars, or a little more than £4000, whereas it is 25,000 dollars, or a little more than £5000.

constructed of wood painted white ; large cities in the east, where the prospect is not obscured by smoke, but where, from the use of anthracite coal, the air in the houses is dried as if heated by hot iron ; fields of Indian corn, amongst the stalks of which it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Gulliver might have been lost ; the magnolia and evergreen-oak vindicating their places amongst the trees of the southern forest ; the cedar—more resembling the yew than the cedar of Lebanon—predominating in the north ; the extensive pine barrens of the south-east, where the tapped sides of the exhausted trees distil pitch ; the boundless prairies of the south and west, into some of which the bee alone, of European explorers, has yet penetrated ; the occasional island-like clumps within them, where the trees for successive generations live and die without the aid of man ; the orchards of standard peach-trees ; the cyprus—not the sombre tree that alone, of all that he had cultivated, would follow the Roman to his grave, but one shedding its light-green, delicate, larch-like leaves, and raising its red and stool-like roots over the unreclaimed swamps of the south ; the adjacent banks of the stagnant “bayou,” where bask in summer the terrapin and the alligator ; the frequent buzzard, protected as a scavenger ; the recently cleared lands of the West, in which stumps of trees still project, the ready tribunes of the rustic orator ; the gay plumage of the red-bird of the South ; the sweet song of the mocking-bird, so sweet that it should never deign to imitate the voice of another ; the fairy proportions of the humming-bird, hovering over the flowers and dipping his tiny beak into their cups ; the butterfly that is his rival in size and in beauty ; the fire-fly, through the greater part of the year glancing at night like a little meteor ; the sea-like rivers ; the ocean-like lakes ; the bright blue of the sky ; the rich clear-obscure of the midnight heaven ; the dazzling sunlight, so dazzling that at mid-day the blinds of the drawing-rooms are kept down and the shutters three-parts closed to exclude the glare ; the gay and gorgeous sunsets ; and the tints of the autumnal forest, not less gay and gorgeous—all these distinguish it from England.

The prospect of the emigrant to the United States from the British Isles shall now have a brief consideration.

Of the emigrants of our nation, the English emigrant, who should bring some property with him, would very likely be the least successful. Unless the promises, contrasted with the performances, of the English railroads, have given him a lesson, he might perhaps be led by plausible representations, of which he would meet plenty, into ruinous investments ; and then, erroneously supposing that the loss of money in a new country, was as irrecoverable a thing as in an old, might fail in heart and energy. The Scottish emigrant would keep clear of such speculations ; and the Irish emigrant, if he got into them, would not care. When in the autumn of 1849, I was at Oswego, in the western part of the state of New York, I made some inquiries of a common Irish labourer as to his wages and mode of living. He said he received three quarters of a dollar a day, which is about 3s. and 2d., in English money ;\* but had to pay two dollars a-week for board, and also to pay for his washing. If he had a lot of garden ground, he complained that he should have to pay a local tax for a school, whether he had children to attend it or not. He

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\* His pay in Ireland would, I believe, have been then about 8d., or 16 cents, if he found himself in food ; and would now be about 1s., or 24 cents.



did not seem satisfied with his change of country ; being probably an idle fellow, and finding that here, to get well paid he must work hard. He complained that, when working on the railroads, he was not allowed to smoke a pipe. Indeed, I afterwards understood from a gentleman of the greatest experience in the railroads of the United States, that the railroad contractors carried matters with a very high hand towards the Irish labourers, having found that concession made them insolent and unmanageable. The Irish labourers bring over, and retain, the cunning and the ignorance of savages ; but their children get an education, which narrow bigotry would have denied them in their own country, and they rise into "Americans." The Irish male labourers will not, for the most part, settle in country places as farm-servants, but stay in the great cities, or work in gangs on the public works ; that they may have their joke, their drinking bout, and their row together ; though they and their families would get on better if dispersed. Irish female emigrants, destitute and nearly starving, often refuse to go into domestic service in the country.\* They are said to be very wasteful in the kitchens. In the United States, English domestic servants are scarce, and are much valued.

The situation of a white domestic servant in the southern states is not desirable ; for he belongs to no class, has no equals or companions, unless, indeed, he goes as a waiter to one of the very large hotels. A southern lady, however, sometimes has at the head of her establishment a white housekeeper, who, never sitting or eating with the negroes, regards herself almost as the equal of (a word that she would not use for the world) her *mistress*. A small farmer, or a respectable and educated labourer, might do very well, as a family man, if he could get the situation of overseer on a plantation ; *i.e.*, a large estate in the south, which the proprietor himself farms. All the overseers are white men, and exercise a delegated authority over the negroes. The houses provided for them are comfortable, and their situation is considered respectable.

The negroes are a careless race. They cannot be induced to keep flower-gardens in good order, and are apt to dig up flowers for weeds ; hence a gardener, who would go round and attend the garden lots on which many of the houses are situated, would do well in the southern cities.

As a general rule, much more capital is required to set up as a farmer in the southern than in the northern states ; the farms in the former being larger, the land there being cultivated almost entirely by the labour of slaves, who must be bought, or hired, from their masters ; and who require being more looked after, and usually do less work, than white

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\* The great drawback to the comfort of living in the Northern States, is the difficulty of getting, and keeping, passably good servants. This difficulty is amusingly illustrated, with perhaps some exaggeration, in "The Recollections of a Housekeeper," a now rather scarce book, of which Mrs. Gilman is the authoress. The negroes in the South do not make what we, in England, should consider first-rate servants ; but they get into the ways of their masters, and must remain with them. The adventures of a settler in the outskirts of civilisation in the far West, are most interestingly portrayed in a work, called "A New Home. Who'll follow?" by Mrs. Mary Clavers. The work, however, is written by a lady of the name of Kirkland ; and the incidents contained in it have, for the most part, I am assured, actually occurred.

men. Should an English farmer wish to settle in the United States, he should go to the north-east, if he consider the obtaining for his children a very good education a sufficient advantage to counterbalance the dissatisfaction of having to plough a not very grateful soil; but if his object be to procure land, at the same time wonderfully productive and cheap, he should emigrate to the free states of the west, say, for instance, the states of Ohio and Illinois. Labour in these states he would find dear; but, if he have a family of sons, he must make them work; and in the end he will probably become rich himself, and be able to establish his sons on farms of their own. After a residence of five years in the Union, emigrants may claim naturalisation; but those, least qualified by their antecedents to discharge the duties of American citizens, often anticipate the period by perjury; and to this none of the political parties venture to make an objection, lest it should lose them votes.

The best dish known only to the Americans is the canvas-back duck. One of the peculiarities of their table is the various shapes in which Indian corn appears. We in England never see it, or if by strange chance we should, we do not like it, for we do not know how to dress it. This is to be regretted, as the use of it would effect a great saving to us. A book, written by Miss Leslie, the sister of the painter and Royal Academician of that name, and published at Philadelphia for a quarter of a dollar, under the name of the "Indian Meal-book," gives the best receipts for dressing it. At Montpelier, the capital of the state of Vermont, I met with an excellent brown bread, which I was told was in common use throughout New England, and which in taste and appearance much resembled such brown wheat bread as I had eaten in the West Riding of Yorkshire. I asked how it was made. The receipt was as follows:—one-third of rye to two-thirds of Indian corn meal; to which, for a good-sized loaf, add half a pint of treacle. The bread is made with yeast and water. Most cattle in the United States are found to thrive upon Indian corn, excepting cows in milk; for then it is found too heating, as it dries up their milk.

Probably in no other country is there so high an average of morality as in the United States. In no other country do the women devote themselves so assiduously to the care of their families and their household duties, or the men to the pursuit of their respective trades or professions. Indeed, if a change were to be made, it would be desirable that it should be rather by relaxing than increasing the pertinacity with which each sex follows its peculiar avocations. The Americans are said to be eager to make money in the way of their business; but they are very willing to spend it on their own pleasures, and those of their families and friends. And there is no other country in which the man, who, having acted honourably, had been overwhelmed by commercial misfortunes, would be so generously supported and set up again by his friends, as he would in the United States. It grates upon the ear of an Englishman to hear the word "smart" sometimes applied to such pecuniary transactions as elsewhere would not have had their acuteness put forward as their most prominent characteristic. But, nevertheless, New York, and other great commercial cities of the Union, are not without firms which, for integrity—ay, and liberality—would advantageously compare with any in the world.

The inhabitants of the different states differ greatly. If there is any



one characteristic in which they all agree with each other, and differ from the rest of the world, that should be sought. It was said, and truly, of the Americans, by one of their presidents, that they are “a very go-a-head people,”—meaning that the American citizen is the most enterprising of men. The American is more enterprising than the Englishman, because, in his wide and comparatively thinly-peopled country, should he fail in one business, he may succeed in another; should he be unprosperous in this state, he may establish himself in the next. Nor must we omit this from our consideration of the relative risks encountered, that a mere commercial failure attaches to it more of disgrace in England than it does in the United States.

The Americans are, amongst themselves, fond of titles, regarding them as honourable badges of the confidence of the people. Once a governor of a state, or once a judge, you are ever after addressed as “governor” or “judge;” and he who has ever been a member of the national or of any state legislature, is addressed as “the honourable” for life. Though amongst the Americans you do not, as with us, see such interesting announcements as that, “by special appointment of the Lord Chamberlain, Messrs. — have become purveyors of cat’s-meat to her Majesty,” you often observe, ostentatiously displayed in the shop-windows (what produces, no doubt, as great an effect), such autograph letters as the following: “Madame,—I beg to inform you that I have received and tried your new lozenges; and have wonderfully recovered.—Your obedient servant, MILLARD FILLMORE.” Or: “Mr. Webster presents his compliments to the proprietors of the new cast-iron coffin works. Though, from circumstances, he has been debarred from doing more than inspecting the specimen obligingly sent, he entertains no doubt that it is as airy, roomy, and comfortable as, for its purpose, could be desired.”

The Americans, considered throughout the length and breadth of their land, are a good-natured and a most kind-hearted people. *Cæteris paribus*, I had rather ask or receive a favour from an American than from an Englishman. Throughout the United States you are allowed the privilege of making a call in the evening.\* And where, in England, you would think it right merely to leave a card, without asking to go in, you had better not do so in America, as it would probably be considered unfriendly. The exquisite—drawling in the “Tenth don’t dance” style, such as you sometimes see amongst the young men of our universities and our army—is not known to the entomologists of America, except as a rare and curious British importation. You meet with much less of vulgar swagger in the United States than you do in our own manufacturing districts. When you do find it, it is commonly in a man who, being Irish or Scotch by birth, has risen in the country of his adoption beyond the hopes of his youth. To an American it has never seemed improbable that he should rise. On the whole, the legal society may be considered the best in the United States. The lawyer there, like our colonial barrister, unites the

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\* The saying of the late Earl of Dudley and Ward, who was possessed of a good character, high talents, and an income of between one and two hundred thousand pounds a-year, and was at one time a cabinet minister, had often been repeated even before it was published in the “Quarterly Review.” It was, that, should he some evening want to have a cup of tea made for him, there was not a house in London where he could take the liberty of calling and asking for it.

business of counsel and attorney; but, unlike our own barristers, he generally unites, from the commencement of his career, the pursuit of politics with that of his profession. He is soon returned to his state, and hopes eventually to be returned to his national legislature; while, on the other hand, the merchant, unlike our own, hardly ever seeks or finds admittance to a legislative body.

In beauty, the ladies of the United States have, on the average, the advantage of the ladies of Europe. But I cannot help remarking that—if those of the northern states could so far overcome their feminine reserve as to acknowledge, even by a slight inclination of the head, a consciousness that a gentleman, who has not been so fortunate as to be introduced to them, has yet been so fortunate as to give up to them his seat, to pick up their glove or handkerchief, or hand them the salt—such slight concessions to the universal manners of Europe would give them more in grace than it would detract in dignity.

The northern ladies have sometimes a voice that is rather nasal; an inheritance transmitted, with many virtues, from their Puritan ancestors, who, according to *Hudibras*, used on the “Sabbath” to

Quarrel with minc'd pies, and disparage  
Their best and dearest friend—plum-porridge;  
Fat pig and goose itself oppose,  
And blaspheme custard through the nose.\*

Nor can it with absolute veracity be asserted that they invariably possess that “excellent thing in woman,”† a low voice.

I do not know whether, as the northern people have preserved some peculiar tones of the Puritans, the southern may not be the last repositories of the accents of the Cavaliers, from whom many of them draw their descent. Certainly, the voice of a southern lady sounds rather foreign to an Englishman of the present day; and certainly the voice of a southern lady is the softest and most melodious English that he has ever heard. The southern ladies are in their manners very natural and winning. They have more of ease than their English, more of softness than their French, contemporaries. A southern lady seems at once to say or do the best thing, through the impulse of a heart, in the delicate and amiable instincts of which she has a right to confide. She does not pause to consider effect; and the effect produced is perfect.

Every one knows that in the United States there is no religion endowed by the state; though in the prayers read in Congress, and perhaps on some other occasions, there is a national acknowledgment of Christianity. Here the voluntary system has certainly answered. I have attended the services of various denominations of Christians, and have invariably found the pulpits and reading-desks well filled, and the congregations attentive. It is sometimes, however, a very reasonable ground of complaint, that the clergy, in their sermons, do not know when to stop.

*Apropos* of stopping, the “hour rule” in the national house of representatives produces a curious effect. When the allotted time has expired, down goes the auctioneer’s hammer of the “Speaker,” and knocks down the orator with his sentence unfinished. This has its advantages; but it provokingly reminded me of this passage in a farce: “‘And Flosbos sinks to eter’—nity, he would have said, but Fate cut short the thread, of

\* Canto I., line 227.

† King Lear.



his discourse and life, at once." In the national senate it is usual for only one lengthy oration to be made in the course of a day, so that a senator, intending to answer another, has all the evening to prepare himself. Cries of "hear! hear!" and "oh! oh!" are never heard in the legislative assemblies of the United States; and a long quotation or a tiresome speech is submitted to with a resignation unknown to us.

The "Protestant Episcopal Church," the daughter of our own English establishment, has made a few, and but very few, changes in its prayer-book from ours. These changes (one of which is the omission of the Athanasian creed) many both of our own clerical and lay members would regard as improvements. It every three years holds a convention, in which the bishops form an upper, and representatives from the clergy and laity, a lower, house.

"The Constitutions and Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" are published in New York. Dr. Wilberforce, the present Bishop of Oxford, has produced a history of this church; but I do not know what reputation the work bears in America.

The same differences have arisen in that Church that are agitating ours. Thus, in the adjoining dioceses, Dr. Lee, the Bishop of Maryland, is Low Church; Dr. Doane, the Bishop of New Jersey, is Tractarian; and Dr. Potter—a name distinguished, during the last century, in the literary and episcopal history of England, as it is now in that of the United States—occupying a middle path, presides, with zeal, dignity, and prudence, over the diocese of Pennsylvania.

The national government of the Union levies no taxes, but is supported by the duties on imports, the sale of public lands, and the profits of the post-office. The taxes imposed by the different states are generally not heavy, but the rates exacted for local purposes, education, police, public works, &c., are often exorbitant. Yet the opulent citizen of the United States has this great security against a tax, or the assessment of a tax, being inflicted on him that shall amount to confiscation, namely, that he can move to another city, another township, or another state, and, carrying his wealth with him, deprive the locality by which he has been injured of all future advantage from it.

Unlike ourselves, the Americans have a written constitution, for making any alteration in which greater formalities are required than for passing an ordinary law of congress. By this constitution all parties profess to hold; but, in some points, there is a slight difference in its interpretation; and the different political parties claim to be guided by different views of these points. The only two great parties of the nation were, till lately, the Whigs and the Democrats; but recently a third, called "The Free Soil Party," and characterised by great activity, has sprung up in the North. This last opposes the introduction into the Union of any more slaveholding states; and it opposed the passing, and still opposes the execution, of the law by which it was enacted, that slaves flying from their master to the free states should, on demand, be returned. By regarding these points as paramount, it seems to aim at exercising the same sort of influence in the United States that the Irish party does with us. The Whig party leans most to those portions of the constitution which aim at extending and strengthening the general government; whereas the Democratic party strives to render the separate states as independent of the general government as is possible within the limits of the constitution. All of its original independent sovereignty, that a state by its ascent to the constitution of the Union, has not expressly, or by necessary implication,

yielded to the national government, it still retains. And the Whig is much more ready than the Democrat to stretch this implication to the making, from national funds, of such public improvements, as the cutting of important roads, and the removing obstructions to the navigation of great rivers. Yet in regard to such expenditures, when they tend directly to the advantage of his own state or neighbourhood, the democrat also is sometimes found open to conviction.

The slave-holding states are jealous of the least approach to national interference, and are, for the most part, democratic. The Democrats are free-traders, the Whigs are protectionists. In the north-eastern states many manufactories exist, but labour is dear; so the inhabitants want protection, in order to prevent countries where labour is cheap competing with the home manufacturer in his own market, nor have they any objection to such retaliation on the part of other countries as, confining the southern agriculturist to his home market, should cheapen the "raw material" of food and manufactures: and they are, consequently, Whigs. In the south and the west, the land is very fertile, and the occupation is agriculture; so the inhabitants want free trade, in order that they may get a great foreign market for their produce, as well as buy manufactured goods cheaply; and are, consequently, Democrats. The mob of Irish and German emigrants know nothing about either party, except the names; but, liking the name of Democrat best, they generally vote for the candidates that are on what is called "the Democratic ticket." From these various causes the Whigs will not be able to carry a tariff more hostile to foreign manufactures than the present. Before every election, the Whigs and the Democrats have each a separate meeting, called a "caucus"\* meeting, to decide what candidates it is most desirable to place on their respective "tickets" of recommendation, in order to promote the success of the party. The Americans are warm politicians; but, with them, you may belong to a different political party, as you may to a different church, from other members of your family, without giving offence to your relatives.

The senate is the federal element of the constitution; each state returning two senators to Congress. The house of representatives is the national element of the constitution; the representatives sent to Congress from each state being proportioned to its population. In the slave-holding states "coloured people" never vote; but for the purpose of apportioning the representation in the house of representatives, five slaves are counted as three white men. This proportion is called "federal numbers." Disregarding mere names, we find that the conservative principle in the Union receives its most effective support from the southern states.

Of the American constitution, Lord Brougham says: "The regulation of such a Union upon pre-established principles—the formation of a system of government and legislation in which the different subjects shall be not individuals, but states—the application of legislative principles to such a body of states—and the devising means for keeping its integrity as a federacy, while the rights and powers of individual states are maintained entire—is the very greatest refinement in social policy to which

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\* "Caucus meeting" has been supposed to be a corruption of "*caulkers' meeting*," as the first caucus meetings on record took place in the part of Boston, in Massachusetts, frequented by the caulkers of ships. Caucus meetings are mentioned, in Gordon's "*History of the American Revolution*," to have been held, under the same name, in Boston, for electioneering purposes, as early as the earlier half of the eighteenth century.



*Recollections of North America, in 1849-50-51.*

any state of circumstances has ever given rise, or to which any age has ever given birth.”\*

As to the mode of electing† the President of the United States there is much to be observed. I will observe, however, that the measure of public opinion is not allowed to be the sole criterion, as in England. The President is elected by the House of Representatives, or both, because the President has as much to do as the Congress to claim to be the representative of popular opinion.

In drawing a picture of a people displaying so much of prosperity, enterprise, and virtue, we may not omit the painful fact, that some of the states have shamelessly repudiated the debts which they have contracted, and which neither Congress nor the United States court has any constitutional right to compel them to pay. But it is some consolation to an Englishman to know that there is no state, on which the stain of repudiation still appears, that was ever a colony of England.

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\* Lord Brougham's "Political Philosophy," chap. xxx.

† The election of President and Vice-president is confided to State electoral colleges composed of apportioned numbers of popular representatives, whose instructions are transmitted to Washington. By the legislature of each State, electors to the *national* Senate are appointed. In each State the qualifications, for a member of the *national* house of representatives, are the same as for voting for a member of the house of representatives of the particular State.

(*From the New Monthly Magazine.*)

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